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ESSAYS

ECCLESIASTICAL AND SOCIAL.

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ESSAYS

ECCLESIASTICAL AND SOCIAL.

REPRINTED, WITH ADDITIONS,

FROM THE

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William John
BY ~~W. J.~~ CONYBEARE, M. A. 1815-18
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P R E F A C E.

IN the true sense of the words, there can be no ecclesiastical question which is not also a social question, nor any social question which is not also an ecclesiastical question. For the Church is nothing else but a catholic society, divinely instituted for social ends; and if the actual realised the ideal, therein would originate, and thereby would be applied, the remedies for all moral evils which afflict humanity. Yet, perhaps, there is no branch of the Universal Church which now adequately fulfils this heavenly mission. In England, indeed, the National Church cannot even attempt the task, except by the isolated efforts of her individual members; for she has no power of collective action, and can scarcely be said to possess any functionaries except her clergy.

The main purpose of the present Volume is to illustrate the great need which exists for a more perfect organisation of the Church, both with a view to internal discipline and external efficiency. The four first Essays are designed to give a picture of the actual state of the National Establishment, viewed in several different aspects; the general object of them all being, partly to remove some prevalent misconceptions, but principally to throw light upon those causes which

have prevented the Church of England from adapting herself to the emergencies of modern times, and from taking her proper place at the head of the nation, as the originator of all good and holy reformation. The two last Essays (those on "Mormonism" and on the "Agitation against Intemperance") are meant to illustrate the nature of those calls upon her energies which she is at present unable to meet: the former exemplifies the helplessness of her people against the seductions of a blasphemous imposture; the latter shows the need of her guidance to aid in suppressing a national vice, and to check the follies which must always blemish popular movements uncontrolled by authoritative wisdom; and both give evidence of the great results which may be wrought even by the weakest instruments, with the aid of co-operative machinery, systematised association, and unity of action.

Torquay, April 3. 1855.

P.S. For the alterations made in the present edition of the Essay on "Church Parties," the reader is referred to the separate prefatory notice prefixed thereto.

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THE CHURCH IN THE MOUNTAINS.

APRIL, 1853.

1. *Life of R. Walker, Perpetual Curate of Seathwaite.* By the Rev. R. PARKINSON, B.D., Principal of St. Bees College. London: 1843.
2. *Reports of the Commissioners on Education in Wales.* London: 1847.
3. *Wales.* By SIR THOMAS PHILLIPS. London: 1849.
4. *Report of the Society for providing additional Clergymen in the Diocese of Llandaff.* London: 1852.

IN the liveliest and most graphic of all histories, there are few passages more lively or more graphic than that in which our great historian sketches the condition of the clergy between the Restoration and the Revolution. Nor is there any other portion of his work which has subjected Mr. Macaulay to more angry criticism. He has been accused of exaggeration and of caricature; of mistaking the exceptions for the rule; of making satirical lampoons the basis of historical statements; and even of intentionally misrepresenting the evidence which he cites, out of a desire to degrade the clerical order. His assailants, before they disputed the accuracy of his picture, and even denied the possibility of such a state of things as that which he portrays, would have done

more wisely if they had examined, not only the records of the past, but the facts of the present. Instead of forming their conclusions from what they saw around them in the wealthier districts of southern or central England, they should have made acquaintance with the mountain solitudes of Wales, or the wild moorlands of Cumberland. There they would have found even yet existing not a few specimens of a clergy whose general circumstances and position a few years ago might be accurately represented in the very words of that celebrated description to which we have referred.

“The Anglican priesthood,” says Mr. Macaulay, “was divided into two sections, which in acquirements, in manners, and in social position, differed widely from each other. One section, trained for cities and courts, comprised men familiar with all ancient and modern learning . . . men of address, politeness, and knowledge of the world; men with whom Halifax loved to discuss the interests of empires, and from whom Dryden was not ashamed to own that he had learned to write. The other section . . . was dispersed over the country, and consisted chiefly of persons not at all wealthier, and not much more refined, than small farmers or upper servants. . . . The clergy [in these rural districts] were regarded as a plebeian class. . . . A waiting woman was generally considered as the most suitable helpmate for a parson. . . . Not one living in fifty enabled the incumbent to bring up a family comfortably. . . . It was a white day on which he was admitted into the kitchen of a great house, and regaled by the servants with cold meat and ale. His children were brought up like the children of the neighbouring peasantry. His boys followed the plough, and his girls went out to service.” We have only to change the verbs in this passage from

the past tense into the present, and it will be a faithful representation, not of the Anglican priesthood in the seventeenth century, but of the Cambrian and Cumbrian clergy in the nineteenth.

A description, then, of the habits and manners, the education and social position, of these mountain clergy is not uninteresting to the historian. Yet if that description could serve no other end than to gratify historical curiosity, we should never have undertaken it; for it is far more painful than it is curious, to witness any case of failure in the greatest and most beneficent of our national institutions — the Parochial System of the Church; and we cannot investigate the condition of our mountain districts without perceiving that such a failure has, at least partially, occurred. Under these circumstances, no mere curiosity would lead us to probe the wounds of the Church. If, indeed, the evils which we lament were incurable, we should veil them from the light in reverential silence. Nay, if we saw no sign of amendment, we might abstain, in hopeless discouragement, from suggesting remedies, where there was no wish for cure. But the case is far otherwise. Many of the worst abuses are already rooted out; others are much abated. A description which would, fifty years ago, have suited almost the whole of Wales, and many counties in the north of England, must now be limited to the most impoverished districts of the former, and the wildest regions of the latter. The realms of clerical barbarism are shrinking before the advance of civilisation and the efforts of conscientious men. Yet this improvement may be rendered more rapid, and these reformers may be aided, by co-operation from without. Such co-operation can only be expected from an enlightened public opinion; and public opinion

requires a fuller knowledge of the facts for its enlightenment. It is in the hope of contributing to this knowledge that we enter upon the subject.

We have said that Mr. Macaulay's account of the Rural Clergy of the reign of Charles II. would apply almost verbatim to the Mountain Clergy of the present century. We may add that this condition of things originates in the same cause which he assigns for it; namely, the inadequacy of the parochial endowments. But here we must guard against misconception. Let it not for a moment be supposed that we consider poverty a degradation to the preacher of the Gospel. God forbid that wealth should be necessary to the ministry of a religion which made the poor of this world rich in faith—a religion whose apostles were Galilean fishermen. A clergy may be very ill-endowed, and yet, by a judicious system of organisation and discipline, and by a proper provision for its education, it may command not only the love of the poor, but the respect of the rich. The efficiency of the Scotch establishment during the last century and a half is a decisive proof of this. But if we have a clergy taken from the poorer classes of society, and left in indigence, without education, without superintendence, without organisation, and without discipline, then it will inevitably become despised and despicable. Not that a priesthood of vulgar paupers is in reality more contemptible than a hierarchy of well-bred Sybarites; for, in the sight of God, Leo X. was perhaps more despicable than Tetzels; but that the cultivated Epicurean will be able to veil his faults under a more decent disguise. The careless and undevout members of an uneducated peasant clergy will retain the low tastes and coarse vices of the class from which they sprang; and the zealous (who at the best must be

a minority) will disgust their more intelligent parishioners by an illiterate fanaticism. These may be followed by the ignorant, but will be ridiculed by the educated; those will be deservedly despised by rich and poor alike. When men who are appointed by the State to be the religious guides and examples of the people thus forfeit both the respect of the wise and the esteem of the good, the object of their mission is defeated.

But, before we proceed, we ought to notice the objection which will be made to our views by some good men, whose disgust has been excited by the Mammon-worship too often seen in a rich establishment, and who fancy that they might get rid of worldly clergymen if they could get rid of wealthy endowments. Those who imagine this forget that poverty does not secure zeal, and that fasting must be voluntary to foster self-denial. Poor benefices are as great a temptation to the peasant as rich bishoprics to the peer. Secular motives are not excluded by small emoluments, but only brought to bear upon a lower class. If we could expect that the ministers of the Gospel would be all, or most of them, men of apostolic life and apostolic wisdom, their apostolic poverty would relieve them from many trammels; and their lowly origin, while it enabled them better to sympathise with the humblest, would command the reverence of every rank; for no real vulgarity can exist in him who is the devoted servant of God. Lancashire, among all her worthies, boasts none worthier than the poor and ignorant Walker of Seathwaite. But such men are necessarily exceptional. In regulating a great national institution, we must consider the effect of circumstances, not upon apostolic individuals, but upon the multitude; we must deal with men as they are, not as they ought to be. If no man were to be admitted to

the ministry who had not the spirit of a Paul or a Bernard, a Xavier or a Wesley, we must give up established churches and parochial systems altogether. No human regulations can raise the general mass of any great profession above the weaknesses of ordinary humanity; but a wise machinery may, nevertheless, create a body of parochial ministers, who, though falling below the ideal standard, may confer a thousand blessings on the nation.

We repeat then, that poverty, though in a Church perfectly organised and provided with all requisite machinery it would not necessarily degrade the clergy, yet has been, under our existing system, an actual cause of their degradation. In mountain countries, the produce of the land, and consequently the value of the tithe, must always be smaller than in more fertile districts. But this necessary poverty has, both in England and Wales, been much increased by spoliation. In the middle ages the tithes of many parishes were alienated to monastic bodies; and when the monasteries were suppressed, the tithes, instead of reverting, as they should have done, to the parochial clergy, were granted by the Crown to other parties. It is strange, that the Church was most robbed in the very localities where it was originally poorest. The tithes thus alienated from the parochial clergy amount in the diocese of Bangor to a third of the whole; in St. Asaph and Llandaff to half; and in St. David's (which has been most despoiled), to four-sevenths of the whole. In the diocese of Carlisle*, four parishes out of five (199 out of 249) have been stripped of more than half their tithes, and 154 stripped

* We include in the diocese of Carlisle the portions of Lancashire and Westmoreland prospectively transferred to it by Act of Parliament.

of the whole. In Durham, 147 parishes out of 260 have been entirely deprived of tithes.* In Wales, there are 282 benefices in which the clergyman's annual income is below 100*l.*, and 527 benefices in which it is below 150*l.* In the diocese of St. David's, the number of livings below 150*l.* is 290 out of 419, or about three in every four; and 167 of these are below 100*l.* In Durham, 62 livings out of 260 are below 150*l.* In Carlisle, which is the poorest of all, out of 249 livings, 151 are below 150*l.*, and 95 (nearly half) are below 100*l.*

But the actual poverty of the clergy in these districts has been even greater than that which the above statistics would lead us to suppose. For, till very recently, it was the practice to accumulate the richer benefices in a few favoured hands, and to leave only the refuse for distribution among the mass of the clergy. The bishops of half a century ago seem to have been absolutely without a conscience in the disposal of their preferment. Their best livings and stalls were usually bestowed in leashes upon their sons or nephews; and when these were satisfied, the benefices next in value were similarly strung together in favour of some Episcopal chaplain or college friend. Sir T. Phillips gives the following examples of such abuses, selected from the first report of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, which was published twenty years ago. At that time, a single ecclesiastic held the following preferment; in the diocese of St. David's three rectories, including five parishes; in the diocese of Gloster one rectory, including three parishes; in the diocese of Bristol one prebendal stall. Another

* In Durham, however, many of these perpetual curacies are sufficiently endowed from other sources, though they have lost their tithes.

individual held two rectories in St. David's, a prebend of St. David's, two perpetual curacies in St. David's, an archdeaconry in St. David's, and a prebend of Brecon. Another held a rectory in Bangor, a perpetual curacy in Winchester, and two vicarages in St. David's. Another held a stall in St. David's, the chancellorship of St. Paul's in London, a rectory in Durham, and a perpetual curacy in Durham. Another held a stall in St. David's, a rectory in Salisbury, a stall at Wells, and a rectory in Winchester. Another held a rectory in St. Asaph, a rectory in Durham, a second rectory in St. Asaph, a vicarage in Durham, and a stall at Norwich, and his income from these five preferments amounted to 4000*l.* a year.*

We ought not, however, to mention these abuses without stating that they belong to the past, and are rendered impossible for the future, not only by the higher sense of duty which animates the dispensers of ecclesiastical patronage, but also by an Act of Parliament against pluralities, which was passed in the present reign, with the unanimous concurrence of the Episcopal bench. Nevertheless, the consequences of these past transgressions still exist; the law must respect vested interests;

* For other gross cases, see Phillips, p. 214—217. Canon Williams of St. Asaph, in a visitation sermon recently published, gives the following account of the former state of things in that diocese. "The best preferments were notoriously given with reference to some political or family influence. Even within my own recollection of many parts of this diocese, clerical non-residence appeared to be the rule, and residence the comparatively rare exception. The spiritual care of the parishioners was entrusted to curates, engaged at stipends disgracefully low. Even in *their* case, residence was not invariably enforced, and they often travelled several miles to perform their Sunday duty. On week days the intercourse between the pastor and his flock was in great measure suspended. . . . Nor was it always considered necessary to preach even a single sermon on Sundays."

and the pluralists created by a less conscientious age will cumber the ground for a few years longer.*

These pluralities probably reduced the average income of the Welsh clergy in the poorer counties, twenty years ago, to below 100*l.* a year. In the English mountains, as we have seen, it is still not much higher than this. Now it is plain that no parent whose means enable him to give his son a liberal education, will educate him for a profession in which his probable income would be (at the best) under 200*l.* a year. The cost of an English University education, including school as well as college, ranges between 1000*l.* and 3000*l.*; 1500*l.* may be considered a moderate estimate. But a parent would clearly be making a bad investment for his son, if he sank 1500*l.* for him in a way which only produced a life income of 150*l.*, charged with the condition of performing certain professional duties. In fact, he might purchase a life annuity charged with no conditions at all, on better terms.† Hence it follows, that the parochial clergy of districts so ill-endowed as those we have described, must be mainly drawn from classes below the gentry. And, in point of fact, we find that they are, with few exceptions, the sons of farmers or small tradesmen, who do not differ in habits or education from their parents, brothers, and cousins.

But it must be remembered, that amongst this rustic hierarchy are to be found, scattered here and there, some clergymen of rank and fortune, some of professional

* Out of 56 parishes, in the North of Pembrokeshire, 33 were still without a resident clergyman in 1847. See Educ. Com. Rep. i. p. 24.

† It is no answer to this to say, that English gentlemen of the highest education are daily ordained to curacies of less value than this; because these curacies are only the first step in their professional life, just as an ensigncy is the first step in a military career.

eminence, some of European reputation. So groundless is that cavil which accuses Mr. Macaulay of inconsistency in representing two orders of men so widely different from each other as existing side by side in the same profession. The very difference which he describes may be still seen in the regions of which we write. Thus, while the diocese of Carlisle was adorned by the science and piety of Dean Milner, and the acute logic of Archdeacon Paley, the mass of the inferior clergy were, in manners and acquirements, scarcely raised above the Cumbrian peasantry; and even now, within sight of those cathedrals which we associate with the names of Copleston and Thirlwall, indigenous pastors are to be found who cannot speak English grammatically, and who frequent the rural tavern in company with the neighbouring farmers.

It is this latter class of clergy which forms our present subject. Their numbers may be roughly estimated at between 700 and 800 in Wales*, and about 200 in the

* We have ascertained that out of 100 clergymen in the diocese of Bangor, taken at random, in November, 1852, there were—sons of clergymen, 29; sons of other gentlemen, 30; sons of farmers or tradesmen, 41. That is, two-fifths are the sons of farmers or tradesmen. We believe the proportion in St. Asaph is about the same. Now in 1852 there were (including curates) in the diocese of Bangor, 169 clergy, and in the diocese of St. Asaph, 221 clergy. Hence, two-fifths of these, or about 150 of the North Welsh clergy, are the sons of the lower classes. But, probably, a third of this number have received an Oxonian education, as servitors of Jesus College (a circumstance which does not exist in South Wales). Hence we may deduct 50 from the class, as being better educated than the rest, and reckon the peasant clergy in North Wales as 100. In South Wales the livings below 150*l.*, and the curacies, are almost invariably held by this class; and many of the livings of higher value also. So that if we reckon *all* the curacies, and *all* the holders of livings below 150*l.*, as belonging to the peasant clergy, we shall still understate their number. Now in Llandaff diocese this will make their number 219, and in St. David's 402. So that we shall have 621 in South Wales, and in the whole of Wales their number will amount to 721.

north of England.* The features which we have to notice are strikingly similar in both localities; but we shall speak first and chiefly of that which, from its size and quasi-national peculiarities, is of most importance—the Principality of Wales.

A friend of ours was consulted, not long since, by a shopkeeper in a Welsh provincial town, concerning the prospects of his second son. “I am thinking, sir,” said he, “of sending him into the Church. His brother is a clever lad, and takes well to the business, but I can’t make anything of this one. I thought to set him up in trade, but he hasn’t the head for it. But I fancy, sir, he might soon learn enough to be ordained.” But, notwithstanding some recruits of this kind from the commercial interest, the chief supply of clergy is derived from the farming class; probably because the shopkeepers, by pushing their children in trade, can give them a better provision than the Church would offer. The general character of the small farmers among the Welsh mountains has been indicated in the Reports of the Educational Commissioners. They are there described as ignorant, and addicted to intemperance; and their households are said not unfrequently to exhibit scenes of the coarsest immorality.† In such a home the future pastor receives the moral training of his childhood, and imbibes

* We have 151 livings in Carlisle below 150*l.*, most of which are not above 70*l.* or 80*l.*; adding to these 30 curates, we have 181. In the adjacent hills of Durham and Ripon dioceses, there may be about 80 more of the same class. So that in all they may amount to 260. In other parts of England, livings of 120*l.* a year would be held by gentlemen of private fortune, who take such small preferment from a love for the work; but this is seldom the case in the Northern hills. We may, however, suppose some slight deduction from the above 260, on this score.

† See Ed. Com. Rep. i. p. 21., and Rep. iii. p. 61. and p. 334.

his earliest views of life; those views which abide by us to our latest hour. In very many cases his father is a dissenter; but that does not prevent him from bringing up one of his sons to be a clergyman—for it is his duty to provide for his family—and a mountain living, though but a poor maintenance, may be rather better than a mountain farm.

Let us suppose, then, that thirty years ago, David Jenkins, a small farmer in Brecknockshire, resolved to bring up his son Evan for the Church; and let us attempt to follow the lad through his subsequent course, educational and ministerial, till he obtained a benefice. Young Evan acquired the art of reading at the Sunday school attached to the nearest meeting house. In due time he learnt what was called English (which, however, he was never taught to translate into his vernacular tongue*) at some day school in the neighbourhood. At length the time arrived when he must be sent to a grammar school. Such schools were scattered over the wildest portions of the Principality, by the benevolence of former ages; and though they have suffered much from the negligence of trustees, and have many of them sunk into a state of shameful inefficiency, still they continue in most cases to exist. In those days the College of Lampeter was not in existence, and these grammar schools formed the chief places of education for the clergy, some of them being specially licensed for that purpose. The pupils of these, when they had completed the prescribed course, were by a singular misnomer called *literate*s. In such a seminary Evan learnt to talk broken English, and perhaps to construe Cæsar. There too he gained the power of stumbling through a

* See Educational Reports, *passim*.

chapter of his Greek Testament, and was crammed with such a store of theology as satisfied the easy requirements of a Welsh examining chaplain. He was now qualified to enter holy orders. But one indispensable condition must first be satisfied; he must obtain a *title*; that is, he must be nominated to a curacy by some incumbent. In the days of which we speak, the demand for such titles exceeded the supply. And in order to obtain this passport to their profession, the young candidates for ordination were willing to undertake curacies for the smallest possible salary. But here the law interposed; for it enacts that no curate shall receive less than a certain stipend, fixed according to the population and value of the benefice; and lest any evasion should be practised, both incumbent and curate are required to make and sign a solemn declaration to the bishop, that the former intends *bonâ fide* to pay, and the latter to receive, the whole amount of salary specified. We grieve to say that this declaration, when made by Welsh curates and incumbents, was too often deliberately false. We have heard of instances in which the curate agreed to serve for a salary of 5*l.*, while he solemnly affirmed in his declaration that he intended *bonâ fide* to receive 50*l.* Nay, such was the state of morality amongst this class of clergy, that these frauds were unblushingly avowed, and treated as matters of course. We will hope, however, that Evan Jenkins escaped this snare, and obtained holy orders without resorting to fraudulent pretences. He was engaged (we may suppose) at the lowest legal salary by one of the non-resident pluralists whom we have before mentioned, to feed the few poor sheep who were left by their shepherd in the wilderness. In this employment the following years of his life were spent. Being a young and healthy man,

he contrived in a short time to combine the charge of two neighbouring parishes with his own. Thus he had every Sunday to serve three churches, each divided from the others by a distance of seven or eight miles over mountain roads. By the aid of an active pony, a rapid elocution, and sermons reduced to the minimum of length, he contrived to get through his Sunday work with great credit; for two services in a country church were then unheard of. On the week days he was not much troubled with clerical duties, for the population were dissenters, and did not require his visits. Thus he had leisure for fishing and coursing, by which he added an occasional dish of broiled trout or jugged hare* to his simple fare. Meanwhile he was earning, by his plurality of curacies, a collective income of 70*l.* or 80*l.* a year, much more easily than his brother, who now cultivated the paternal farm. On the strength of this wealth, he married the daughter of a farmer in his parish. His bride's sister was lady's maid in the house of a neighbouring baronet; and he thought that this connexion might gain him powerful patronage, and help him to preferment. If his calculations proved correct, and fortune favoured him, he perhaps obtained, by this influential intercession, a benefice of 140*l.* per annum, just as the olive branches were beginning to grow so thickly round his table as to throw rather a gloomy shadow over the frugal board.

The manner in which livings were obtained in those times, is illustrated by the following narrative of a case which actually occurred in the diocese of St. David's

* There was a clergyman of this class in Glamorganshire, who used every season to lay in a stock of hares, which he salted down for consumption during the remainder of the year.

during the last generation. We give the story (with the exception, of course, of the names) as it was told by the son of its hero. The Rev. David Jones was a curate in Cardiganshire, and had long watched the failing health of his neighbour, the Vicar of Dim Saesoneg. At length he received the news of his friend's decease, of which he had secured the earliest intelligence. No time was to be lost. His pony was instantly saddled, and off he rode by the shortest cut over the mountains to Abergwili, the residence of the bishop. The distance was fifty miles, half bog, half torrent; but hope lent wings to David, and soon he was in sight of the palace chimneys. Suddenly a cold pang shoots through his heart! He has forgotten his credentials! He had obtained, only a week before, a letter of recommendation to the bishop from an influential member of the squirearchy. And this letter he has left at home in the pocket of a week-day garment. What is to be done? It is useless to attack the bishop without the letter. He must return for it at all hazards. Luckily he has a cousin who keeps a country inn not far from Abergwili. There he borrows a fresh horse, and pushes back with all speed. It is a moonlight night, so that he can follow the mountain track without difficulty; and before dawn he astonishes Mrs. Jones by his unlooked-for appearance in the nuptial chamber. But he vanishes from her sight again like a vision; he has found the precious letter, and buttoning his coat tightly over it, he hurries to the house of a friendly neighbour, who lends him another steed. While it is being caught and saddled, he snatches a hasty breakfast, and then is off again to Abergwili. Faint and saddle-sore he felt (so he told our informant) when once more he came in sight of the palace. Nevertheless, he tarried not for refreshment

but hastened on to the episcopal mansion. Tremblingly he rang the sonorous bell at the entrance, and when the door was flung open by the purple footman, in the excitement of the moment he accosted him as "My Lord." The servant was not disconcerted, being quite accustomed to such titular elevation. He showed Mr. Jones quietly into the library, where the bishop soon after made his appearance, and inquired, with an air of bland dignity, into the business of his visitor. The matter was soon explained, the squire's letter produced, and the bishop (having received no prior application) bestowed the desired preferment on the enraptured curate. In the highest elation, David retired to his inn, when whom should he meet in the stable yard, but his neighbour Thomas Williams, who filled the next curacy to his own. At sight of Jones's joyous countenance, a deadly paleness overspread the face of Williams. He felt that he was too late. But hope is tenacious, and he refused to believe in his rival's success, till he had himself seen the bishop. He rushed to the palace, and was admitted to an audience; but it was only to receive a confirmation of the unwelcome intelligence, with the additional mortification of an episcopal rebuke. "Sir," said the Prelate, "Mr. Jones was obliged to ride a hundred and fifty miles to obtain this living; had you possessed his energy, you might have been here long before him, and secured the preferment for yourself."

Such was the disposal of Church patronage, such the education and character of incumbents through great part of Wales, twenty years ago.* Since then much improvement has taken place, of which we shall presently

* This subject of patronage reminds us of a story which was told by the late Bishop Jenkinson of St. David's. He had received a request from a

speaking; and the junior members of the profession have been, in some respects, trained under happier auspices. But the older clergy were formed under the circumstances which we have described, and still retain the impress stamped upon them in their youth. And the extraction and social position of the Welsh clergy as a body still remains the same throughout the poorer districts. The distinctive features which we are attempting to portray, are to be found most fully developed in the region of which Cardigan is the centre, and which comprehends also the counties of Brecknock and Carmarthen, with the south of Merioneth, the west of Montgomery and Radnorshire, and the north of Pembroke and of Glamorgan. In the northern parts of Wales, as we have before stated, the Church has been less despoiled of its parochial endowments, and a majority of the clergy have received a university education; so that our description will not, without much limitation, apply to the northern counties, nor to the southern portion of Glamorgan and Pembroke, or the south-eastern part of Radnorshire.

The injurious effect produced on the usefulness of the clergy, by the low position which they hold in society, would surprise those who argue that worldly rank and station unfits a man for the office of an evangelist, and who imagine that his influence over the poor will be increased by his separation from the rich. We find, on

Radnorshire squire to bestow a vacant living on a certain curate. The bishop consented, and being in London at the time, wrote to the curate, promising him the living, and desiring him "to come up to town" for institution. The curate replied very gratefully, and expressed his desire to obey his lordship's directions instantly, "but, for me," he added, "I know not to what town your lordship alludes." "Going to town," in his habitual phraseology, meant the market town he was in the habit of visiting.

the contrary, that where the manners and education of the clergyman are decidedly inferior to those of the upper classes, the lower soon lose the respect due to his office. As an illustration of our meaning, we will relate a scene which occurred not long ago in one of the counties which we have just enumerated. A friend of ours who had inherited an estate there went to reside upon his property, and when Sunday came, he of course attended his parish church. Out of respect for their new landlord, most of his tenantry (though they were all Dissenters) came to church also; so that a congregation of unusual size was collected. After service the young squire waited in the churchyard, surrounded by a knot of curious observers, till the vicar came out; and then, respectfully accosting him, hoped that he would give him the pleasure of staying to partake of an early dinner at the hall, instead of returning to his own residence, which was at a distance. The clergyman looked exceedingly embarrassed, colouring and hesitating very much, till the awkward silence was broken by one of the farmers present, who stepped forward as spokesman for the congregation, and said,—“He is shy, master; he is shy. He does not know what to answer you. He should not like to dine at your table. He be not fit company for you. If you shall let him have some refreshment in your kitchen, he shall be glad to come.” The squire, exceedingly horrified by this blunt explanation (in which the vicar entirely acquiesced), continued to urge his invitation, and at last prevailed upon the clergyman to become his reluctant guest; but the poor man was so obviously miserable during the repast, that the landlord never again subjected him to the persecution of a similar hospitality.

Injurious as all this is to the poor, it can hardly fail

to produce an effect on the gentry. Want of respect towards the ministers of religion may extend to religion itself, and that, too, the more easily as attendance at church is rendered irksome by the fact that the services are performed in a language either very imperfectly or not at all understood by the higher classes, and generally in a tone and manner peculiarly distasteful to them. This may in some measure account for the statements made by the Government Inspectors, concerning the indifference frequently shown by the landowners in these parts of Wales for the improvement and instruction of the population.*

Nor is this the only way in which their low position acts injuriously upon the clergy. We do not agree with Burke, that "vice loses half its evil by losing all its coarseness;" but it is true that refinement of mind and manners tends to suppress some vices, by suppressing their manifestation. A well-bred man is ashamed to give utterance to "those coarse bad thoughts" of envy, hatred, and malice, which, among the rude and uncultivated, find vent in outspoken Billingsgate. If one gentleman has outstripped another in the chase of some object of ambition, the unsuccessful candidate (whatever may be his secret feelings) must meet his rival with outward courtesy. But when two Welsh curates have met, after one had obtained a benefice which the other sought, we have known instances of the vanquished assailing the victor with the most scurrilous vituperation. When we see the pursuit of pecuniary advantage in its eager and undisguised manifestation, among these simple children of the soil, we cannot help wishing that they had learnt to apply the doctrine of Reserve to their worship of Mammon. It

* See Minutes of Council for 1849—50, pp. 194, 195.

is true that this cult is not confined to any one class of society; but it is less revolting to the taste, when disguised under a veil of decorum. There is something shocking to the feelings in the open gathering together of the eagles around the carcase of every defunct incumbent. The crowd of begging letters with which the disposers of ecclesiastical patronage are overwhelmed, on every fresh vacancy, is a painful proof that incompetence does not inspire men with modesty, nor rusticity with contentment.*

But this want of refinement leads to evils still more serious than any we have yet mentioned. It exposes the peasant clergy to temptations which sometimes betray them into scandalous and degrading vice. Springing themselves from the lower classes, they have not been raised by education above the gross and animal tastes of their younger days. They are surrounded by friends and relatives whose highest enjoyments are found in the conviviality of the village alehouse. They are cut off, by want of cultivation and opportunity, from the pursuits of literature and art. What wonder is it, if they have yielded to the allurements of more familiar pleasures? if they have sought the only social relaxations which were open to them? and if many of them have, in consequence, been led to push conviviality into intemperance? Such a result from such circumstances is not surprising, however deeply to be deplored. We rejoice to know,

* The manœuvres of these artless candidates for preferment are sometimes amusing from their simplicity. For instance, we have heard of a case where a curate sent a panegyric on his bishop anonymously to the county newspaper, when a living was expected to be vacant; and having cut out the printed letter, sent it to the bishop as soon as the desired preferment had fallen in, with a note in manuscript to the effect that "this letter was written by the Reverend — of —."

however, that these scandals are far less frequent than they once were. A drunken clergyman, once no unfrequent spectacle, is now rarely seen. There are still, however, districts to which this improvement has not fully reached; and we fear that it will be long before the clerical character recovers from the stigma which has been branded on it by the vices of former generations.

As a specimen of the reputation which is thus attached to the profession, we may mention a scene which occurred not long ago, at an auction, in a market town of Brecknockshire. A case for holding spirits was one of the lots put up. For this there was a keen competition between a neighbouring squire and his vicar. At last the layman gave in, and the spirit-case was knocked down to the clergyman, amidst loud cheers from the bystanders, who exclaimed: "The parson do deserve it better than you, squire; he shall make more use of it."

All flagrant scandals, however, are gradually being suppressed by a more conscientious public opinion, and by the increased vigilance of the ecclesiastical authorities. Those who are detected in a state of intoxication run a risk of serious punishment. An unfortunate sinner of this description was staggering homewards from the market town, where he had indulged somewhat too freely, when he was overtaken by a neighbouring incumbent, who was the nephew of an influential dignitary. The rector bestowed a look of disgust upon his erring brother, and was riding on, when he was stopped by the piteous cries and entreaties of the culprit, who implored him to believe that it was quite unusual for him to be in his present state, and besought him not to expose the accidental frailty. "Promise me not to tell your uncle, Mr. —; promise me not

to tell your uncle." Such offenders are now made to feel the terrors of the law. Our readers may, perhaps, remember a grotesque case of barbarism which was brought, by the late Bishop Copleston, before the Court of Arches. Two clergymen had quarrelled and fought over their cups, and one had actually bitten off the other's ear! The defence set up in these cases is sometimes extremely ludicrous. In a recent instance, where a curate was accused of habitual intoxication, he pleaded that he only entered the public houses to gain pastoral influence over his parishioners, and that he never took more than two glasses at a time. The latter assertion turned out, upon investigation, to be literally true; for there were four public houses in the village, and he took two glasses daily at each.

It is needless to say that the clerical duties are not likely to be very efficiently discharged where such habits are prevalent. The clergy there, indeed (as we have before remarked), are not even expected by their parishioners to perform those duties of pastoral visitation which form the daily task of an English clergyman. Their flock have long since forsaken the pastures of the Church, and look to other shepherds for spiritual food. During the interval between Sunday and Sunday, their office remains little better than a sinecure. In some, at least, of the districts before enumerated, even on Sunday there is seldom more than one service, and that is often omitted. Thus we read, in the Government Reports, of parish churches where "Divine service is very seldom performed unless there are banns to publish" (Rep. ii. p. 131.); of others where "no service is performed in the church during five out of six Sundays, for want of a congregation" (Rep. ii. p. 135.); of others where "the vicar rides by on the Sunday afternoon, but seldom

has occasion to alight and do duty" (ibid.). The vicar will naturally be tempted, in such a case, occasionally to omit his afternoon's ride altogether. Thus, we know a parish where, not along ago, the service was left unperformed on Christmas Day, Good Friday, and Easter Sunday, consecutively. These things sound shocking; but perhaps when service does take place in such parishes, one is inclined to wish that the church had remained unopened. An air of slovenly carelessness, and poverty-stricken neglect, pervades the aspect of the edifice and the ministrations of the officiator. The church is like a barn; sometimes "with large holes in the roof" (Rep. ii. p. 132.), sometimes with "the panes of the chancel window all out" (Rep. i. p. 406.); the floor is of uneven earth, or perhaps irregularly covered with broken fragments of the original pavement; the pulpit is in such a rickety condition that a preacher with much action would soon bring it down altogether; in the chancel, a communion table, propped upon three legs, is fenced by worm-eaten rails, half of which are broken down; the area below is filled by dilapidated old pews, of which nine out of ten are entirely empty. A dirty-looking man, in a surplice still dirtier than himself, ascends the reading-desk, and gabbles through the prayers. A ten minutes' sermon follows, and the brief ceremony is complete. We quit the building, feeling that the abomination of desolation has indeed taken possession of the holy place. Nor is its aspect improved on week-days. If we enter the churchyard, we find the vicar's horse or cow grazing among the tombstones.* The precincts of the sacred

* See also the "Ecclesiologist" for December, 1852, No. 97. Of Brecknockshire we read:—"In some small churches: . . . there is scarcely any architectural character of any sort, and the condition of several of them is quite disgraceful from dirt and neglect." Of Pembrokeshire:—"The state of several churches in this county is very bad, both from neglect and

building are used by the parishioners for purposes quite incompatible with the spirit of sanitary reform*; for the Persian imprecation: "*May the graves of your ancestors be defiled,*" would have no superstitious terror for the villagers of Wales. We turn in disgust from these pollutions, and seek shelter within the church, the door of which stands invitingly open. To our surprise, it is half filled with a set of disorderly and irreverent children, who are dispersed throughout the pews. After some minutes of perplexity, we discover that these urchins constitute the parish school, and that the old Welshman who sits within the communion rails is pretending to teach them English. The communion table serves for the master's desk, and is sometimes removed to another part of the church, to suit his convenience.† The font, also, is made useful; being filled with "bits of candle, slates, and fragments of books."‡ On seeing a

dilapidation." Those who are interested in the subject of Church Architecture in Wales will find much valuable information in the article from which these extracts are taken ("On the Churches of Wales"). The writer, who gives us the result, as it seems, of personal inspection, has classified the churches of any note or peculiarity of construction, according to their type, under the several counties in which they are found.

* "The churchyard is generally used by the poor of the town as a privy, few of them possessing at home any convenience of that nature" (Rep. i. p. 241.). Compare the following from Archdeacon Allen's report: "On drawing my companion's attention to the filth left by the children under the walls of the church, and observing to him that he would not permit that sort of pollution under his parlour window, he replied, '*Nay, nor under my kitchen window neither.*'"—Minutes of Council for 1845.

† "The school was held in the church, and the children were dispersed throughout the pews. They behaved themselves in a most disorderly manner; one of them was singing a tune during the whole time I was there" (Rep. i. p. 270.; see also p. 410. 444.). Again: "A portion of the church is, in Radnorshire, the most common place for school-keeping" (Allen's Report in Minutes of Council for 1845.). The above extracts refer to South Wales, but the same practice prevails in some parts of North Wales also, (See Rep. iii. p. 6.)

‡ See Allen's Report, quoted above. The communion table is not always

visitor, the old pedagogue calls up his first class, and desires them to say their catechism, which is undoubtedly a good exercise of memory, since they do not understand a word of English, the language in which they learn it. Or perhaps he gives them a portion of the Bible to read, in which case it will be cruel if the visitor insists upon choosing the chapter; for the poor children can only read one, which is always selected by the master when they are called upon to exhibit.

Perhaps, however, it may be thought that the keeping of the parish school within the walls of the church is, at any rate, a sign that the incumbent takes an interest in the education of his parishioners. We rejoice to know that there are many who do so, and that the number is daily increasing, as we shall presently show. But we may be very sure that no such interest is taken where there prevails indecency and irreverence like that which we have just described. It is possible that a parish may be so impoverished, and the landowners so careless of their duty, as to render the erection of a proper school-room impossible; but even in such a case, a good clergyman will find means of personally superintending the teaching of the young, the only portion of his flock which his dissenting parishioners will now entrust to his care. How far the Welsh clergy have been, till very recently, from fulfilling their duty in this respect, is but too clearly shown by the Reports of the Educational Commissioners. For there we learn that a large proportion of the day-schools nominally connected with the Church throughout Wales, were, up to the year 1847, never visited by the clergy at all*; and that even in those

used as the master's desk; sometimes he prefers boards laid across the bier. (Rep. iii. p. 6.)

* See Rep. i. p. 30., Rep. ii. p. 27., and Rep. iii. p. 38.

which they occasionally visited, they very seldom gave any systematic instruction. The consequence was, that the religious teaching, being left to ignorant and untrained schoolmasters, degenerated into a mere sham; and the scholars were only saved from a state of heathen ignorance by attending the sunday schools of the Dissenters.* No doubt there were many exceptions to this rule in the more civilised portions of the principality†; and the advance made during the last five years has been great; but this improvement has not, we fear, very deeply penetrated those ruder districts which form the main subject of our present sketch.

The description which we have thus attempted of the peasant clergy in Wales would serve equally for their brethren in the mountains of England. These peculiarities have been created, not by any inherent tendencies of race, but by causes which have produced the same results upon the Saxons of the North as upon the Cymry of the West. We have before mentioned that the poverty of these mountain clergy is even greater in England than in Wales, and that they are derived from the same classes of society as their Welsh compeers. They were formerly educated (as in Wales) at licensed grammar schools scattered over the country. These have now been superseded by the College of St. Bees, though specimens of the former system are still to be found among the older clergy. The poverty of their

* Painful details may be found in Rep. i. p. 26—29., Rep. ii. p. 35, 36., and Rep. iii. p. 24., and 45—47.

† We ought especially to refer to the labours of the excellent Dean Cotton of Bangor, who is justly praised in the Government Reports (Rep. iii. p. 30.), as the father of Church education in North Wales; and also to the more recent exertions of Bishop Short of St. Asaph. The latter, indeed, advocated and promoted the secular education of the poor when he was himself a country clergyman, and at a time when he stood almost alone in his sentiments on this subject.

endowments leads most incumbents to eke out their subsistence by subsidiary employments; some keep village schools; most farm a little land; nearly all attend fairs and markets with the neighbouring farmers. This association naturally leads to the same results which we have before lamented. A friend we have consulted, who is well acquainted with the diocese of Carlisle, estimates the proportion of the hill-clergy in Westmoreland and Cumberland, who are "more or less intoxicated at one time or another, at parties, fairs, or markets," as one-sixth of the whole number. Another informant writes, that "several of the clergy" in his neighbourhood "are notorious drunkards." The social position held by the clergy may be inferred from the above statements. It is in fact precisely the same with that assigned to their predecessors by Mr. Macaulay. A gentleman who resides in Westmoreland writes thus:—"As a rule the clergy here are of a low order, and rarely associate with the gentry. In our own village, for instance, where the clergyman is not by any means a bad specimen, no servant is kept at his house, and several of his sons have been brought up to handicraft trades. We are very good friends, but he could not visit at my house. . . . His sister was waiting-maid to a friend of ours." As an illustration of these statements, it may be worth while to mention that the writer of these pages, some years ago, when in a boat on one of the Cumberland lakes, observed upon the road which ran along the shore, a man and woman ride by on the same horse, the man in front, the woman behind. "There goes our priest and his wife," said the boatman. On landing, soon after, the worthy couple were seen making hay together in a small field which the clergyman farmed.

Thus far the aspect of the Church is the same in the northern as in the western hills. But there is one marked feature of difference. In Wales the Dissenters outnumber the Church, and by their superior energy have obtained almost the entire control of the religious education of the people. In these English districts, on the contrary, the Dissenters are a weak minority; and the prevalent sect is that of the Wesleyan Methodists, who are but little alienated from the Establishment.

This difference would appear at first sight a proof of the greater attachment entertained towards the Church by the inhabitants of the English mountains. But we fear that it is in reality only an indication of the greater supineness and stolidity in which their clergy were sunk during the last century. For the dissent which now exists in Wales did not originate in the invasion of the Church's territory by an external foe; it sprang from the unwise attempt of her rulers to stifle a religious movement which arose spontaneously in her own communion, and amongst her own ministers. The history of that outburst of religious life, which so strangely broke the deadness of an age of spiritual stagnation, is now well known, so far as England is concerned; for who has not read that most readable of biographies, Southey's "Life of Wesley?" Every one is aware that Wesleyanism was created and organised by ministers of the Church, and that its system was only designed to be subsidiary and supplemental to that of the Establishment. But many will be surprised to learn that this was still more especially the case with the Calvinistic Methodism of Wales, which is now regarded as one of the most hostile forms of dissent. The founders of this sect were all members of the Church, and all but one were clergymen. In the midst of the ignorant boors who

then filled most of the Welsh pulpits, there were to be found, here and there, men of a very different stamp; men burning with apostolic zeal for the salvation of souls, and called to the priesthood by a higher ordination than that of human hands. Such was Griffith Jones, vicar of Llandowror, in Carmarthenshire, the father of national education in Wales, who, in 1730, founded the first of those catechetical schools, by which, before his death, a hundred and fifty thousand persons had been taught to read the Scriptures in their native tongue.* He spent a life of self-denying labour, in establishing schools, and circulating Bibles; for, till his time, the Bible had been an unknown Book in the cottages of the poor.† He adopted the practice of field-preaching, and addressed large audiences in the open air, in different parts of Wales, with remarkable effect. Nevertheless, being an incumbent, he could not be deprived of his benefice without a legal cause; and accordingly he lived and died vicar of Llandowror. But his successors and imitators, being only curates, were removable at the pleasure of the bishops; and, one by one, they were ejected from their cures, by worldly prelates, who feared enthusiasm more than sin, and were zealous in nothing but in hating zeal. Such was the fate of Daniel Rowlands, the chief organiser of Calvinistic Methodism; of Williams of Pantycelyn, whose hymns are now sung in a thousand chapels; and of Charles of Bala, who succeeded these early leaders, and introduced Sunday

* For a full account of this excellent man, see Phillips, p. 284, &c. We may take this occasion of noticing a singular exaggeration in the very valuable Report of Mr. Mann on the Educational Census for 1851. In p. 11. the author describes "popular education" as the creation of the nineteenth century, and Joseph Lancaster (in 1796) as the first inventor of popular day schools!

† Phillips, pp. 125. 285.

schools into Wales in 1785. Howel Harris, though educated at Oxford, was refused ordination altogether; he afterwards founded the Methodist College of Trevecca, but never quitted the communion of the Church. Such men could not be silenced by episcopal prohibitions. They heard a voice from heaven commanding them to preach the Gospel; they saw that thousands were won by their labours from heathenism to Christianity; and they felt that even if schism were to result from their success, the guilt must rest on those who had cast them out. Meanwhile they continued members of the Church, and kept their followers in her communion. Nor was it till our own times that the separation occurred between the Welsh Methodists and the Establishment. Until the present century they received the Sacraments exclusively from clergymen of the National Church, and recognised none others as duly ordained. In the year 1811 they first resolved to ordain ministers of their own, and only since that time have they been a dissenting sect. They have now about eight hundred places of worship scattered over every part of Wales, and teach more than a hundred thousand children in their Sunday schools.*

These Sunday schools exhibit (as Mr. Lingen truly observes) the most characteristic development of the Welsh intellect. "They have been," he adds, "almost the sole, they are still the main and most congenial, centres of education. Through their agency the younger portion of the adult labouring classes in Wales can generally read, or are learning to read, the Scriptures

* See the table given by Sir T. Phillips, p. 171. The Sunday scholars of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists are equal in number to those of all the other sects collectively. The number of their chapels was, at the last census, 781.

in their native tongue. A fifth of the entire population is returned as attending their schools.”* The proportion of teachers is one to every seven scholars; so that a large number of the working classes devote their only day of rest to these labours of love. A considerable amount of theological knowledge is thus diffused among the population, though unhappily it takes the form rather of polemical than of practical divinity. Men utterly destitute of secular information, ignorant of the simplest elements of geography or arithmetic, may be heard discussing deep questions of Scriptural metaphysics or ecclesiastical polity, in the tongue of the ancient Britons.

“ Apart they sat upon a hill retired,
And reasoned of foreknowledge, will, and fate —
Fixed fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute.”

The language itself has been thus enriched with many new terms, and a native literature has been created by the appetite for theological information.† And however we must regret that these healing springs should be poisoned by the bitterness of party strife, yet we cannot doubt that the intelligence of the peasantry is stimulated by the discussions in which they take part; and we may hope also that their religious feelings are

* Rep. i. p. 3. For similar testimony from the other commissioners, see Rep. ii. p. 51., and Rep. iii. p. 59. We find from the latter report that in North Wales the Church of England Sunday Schools were only 124 out of 1,161.

† On this subject we would refer our readers to the interesting information contained in Mr. Johnson's Report (Rep. iii. p. 59.), and to the list which he gives of the periodicals and other works recently published in the Welsh language. Every sect seems to have its own magazine. We learn from Mr. Lingen's Report (Rep. i. p. 7.), that many of the contributors to these magazines are found among the peasantry. It appears, also, that three-fourths of the contemporary Welsh literature is theological.

nourished by the devotional ingredients which are mixed, though too sparingly, with their dogmatical repast.

Had the rulers of the Church done their duty during the eighteenth century, all this energy, instead of being driven out from her pale, would have been fostered, guided, and utilised; and thus the evils which have attended its present sectarian development might have been avoided. For sects, like monastic orders, have an invariable tendency to degenerate. The fervour of the first love dies away; the truths which were preached by those who had (as it were) discovered them anew, with such enthusiastic faith, and such life-giving power, turn in the second generation into stereotyped formulas. The regenerating creed is metamorphosed into a dead shibboleth of party. Welsh Methodism has now fallen into this phase of formalism. The distinctive tenets of the sect are carefully inculcated on its members, but the spirit is evaporated. Their Sunday schools vie with each other in committing to memory the *pynciau**, in which their dogmas are embodied. The young people of both sexes meet in evening schools to prepare these schemes of doctrine; but, alas, such nocturnal meetings for devotion too often end in immorality.† This is the natural result of appealing to animal excitement as a test of spiritual renovation. Even the first founders of Welsh Methodism, excellent as they were, fell into this error. Whitfield boasts that during the preaching of Rowlands he had seen a congregation of ten thousand persons, “ shouting Gogun-

* A *punc* (plural *pynciau*) is a scheme of doctrine printed in question and answer, with Scripture proofs. The different classes in a school learn different parts of it; and when it is completely committed to memory, the school makes a triumphal procession to other chapels to recite it, as a kind of friendly challenge.

† See Rep. i. p. 21., and Rep. ii. p. 60.

niant Bendyitti, and ready to leap for joy ;”* and too soon this readiness to leap turned into actual leaping. These fathers of the sect, however, were educated men ; not merely clergymen, but raised above their clerical brethren in intellect and acquirements. Now, on the contrary, the great mass of preachers are utterly illiterate ; and the most popular are those who can rake up the expiring embers of enthusiasm into a blaze by violent stimulation. Thus we have a residuum of much flame and little heat, “the contortions of the sibyl without her inspiration.” Such preachers especially delight in calling forth that disgusting exhibition of folly and fanaticism which has disgraced the very name of religion in Wales—the practice of “*jumping*.” A whole congregation may be seen, drunk with excitement, leaping and shouting in concert, and profaning the most sacred names by frantic invocations.† We cannot wonder that these bacchanalian orgies end too often in the same manner as their heathen prototypes ; for such fervour being purely of the flesh, is easily turned into the current of mere carnal passion. Moreover, the doctrine of the preachers who stir up such “revivals,” is frequently of the most antinomian tendency. Hence we must explain the melancholy fact, that the spread of religious knowledge in Wales has not been attended by an improvement in the morality of the people. In no other country has so large a portion of the population been instructed in controversial theo-

* See Southey’s Wesley, vol. ii. p. 225. Their real cry was Gogoniant Bendith i ti (Glory, Blessing be to Thee), but Whitfield did not understand Welsh, though he preached with great success to Welsh audiences, who understood scarcely a word of English.

† These scenes, however, are getting less common than they were, and many preachers discourage them. “I do make them *wip* (weep) and cry for mercy,” said a preacher with a very Welsh accent, to a friend of ours, “but I do not make them *lip* (leap). I do not wish to see them *lipping*.”

logy; and we fear that in no other country is there a greater prevalence of unchaste habits among the poor. Such, at least, is the unanimous evidence of the numerous witnesses examined by the Government Commissioners.*

Another evil which has attended the development of Sectarianism in Wales, is the entire religious separation which it has caused between the higher and lower ranks. Mr. Lingen too truly says that, "even in religion the Welsh peasant has moved under an isolating destiny; and his worship, like his life, has grown different from that of the classes over him." The cause of piety, and of social order, both suffer from this unnatural isolation. The very idea of the Christian congregation is that it should embrace "high and low, rich and poor, one with another." Within the walls of the church all disparities are equalised; here, at least, as in apostolic times, "the believers have all things common." How painfully different is the state of things in Wales, even in the better districts, where the clergy are both educated and efficient. You enter the church, and find perhaps five pews occupied. In one, the squire slumbers in the softest corner of the manorial seat. In another the butler's attitude shows that he is sharing the repose, though not the cushions, of his master. The third pew is filled by the rector's family, the fourth by his domes-

* The general result of this evidence may be summed up in the words of one witness (Rep. ii. p. 60.): "Want of chastity is the giant sin of Wales." Or is, perhaps, still more correctly stated by another, a magistrate of North Wales: "Fornication is not regarded as a vice, scarcely as a frailty, by the common people in Wales" (Rep. iii. p. 68. See also Rep. i. p. 21.). We fear that this unanimous testimony of so many witnesses of all ranks and sects is not shaken by Sir T. Phillips's arguments. He has proved, indeed, that the number of illegitimate births is not greater than the English average; but he has forgotten to notice the evidence given, that a large proportion of the poor women in Wales are pregnant some months before marriage.

tics. The fifth is occupied by the wife and children of the parish clerk, bound, by virtue of his office, to conform externally to the Church. But where is the population? A glance at the interior of the neighbouring Zoar or Ebenezer will show you them. There they sit, as thick as bees in a hive, stifling with heat, yet listening patiently to the thundering accents of a native preacher, which you had heard while you were yet afar off, breaking the stillness of the sabbath air. *Tan uffern* (hell fire) is the expression which falls oftenest on the ear. The orator is enforcing his favourite doctrine of reprobation upon his rustic hearers; and you cannot help fearing that they are mentally applying his teaching, by complacently consigning the squire, the rector, and the parish clerk to an uncovenanted doom.

This unhappy condition of things not only severs the strongest bond of union between different ranks of society, but it also renders even the best and ablest clergymen comparatively inefficient. The pastoral position of a Welsh clergyman in most parishes, is indeed of a very hopeless kind; and the more zealous and energetic he is, the more distressing he must find it. Through no fault of his own, he is deserted by his flock; and those among the poor who frequent his ministrations are generally the worst men in the parish, who are rejected by the discipline (lax as it is) of the Dissenters; and to show their spite against those who have excluded them, exercise their legal right of attending the National Church. Such circumstances might well discourage the most sanguine; and it is infinitely to the credit of some among the Welsh clergy (and those no inconsiderable number), that instead of yielding to indolent despair, they have found in the very sterility of the soil entrusted to their cultivation only a new call to labour. Repulsed

as theological teachers by their people, they have become their best instructors in practical religion. They have built parish schools, and thus have taken up the only ground not pre-occupied by dissent; for the Dissenters in general have contented themselves with their Sunday schools, without attempting Day schools. Such clergymen, therefore, have easily become the voluntary schoolmasters of their parishes, and thus secured the affection and respect of the younger generation; while, at the same time, they have been the friends and comforters of the aged, the sick, and the helpless; and by showing a benevolence unrestricted by sectarian distinctions, they have taught their opponents the catholicity of Christian love. But virtue and energy like this cannot be expected from the majority of any profession; and we ought to make some allowance for the indolence and uselessness even of the worst among the Welsh clergy, when we remember the circumstances in which they are placed by the alienation of their flock. Many of them, in fact, occupy the same position with the ministers of the Scotch Establishment in those localities where the whole population has gone over to the Free Kirk; and we know how nearly irresistible is the temptation to such ministers, notwithstanding the stringent discipline of the Presbyterian Church, to convert their office into a sinecure.

But the Church of Wales has to contend with other difficulties no less formidable than those which arise from dissent. The chief among these, is the prevalence of two languages. The parishes of Wales may be divided into three classes. First, those where Welsh only is the language of the great majority. Secondly, those where English is spoken or understood by all. Thirdly, those in which the population is divided into a Welsh

and English portion, neither being inconsiderable in respect of the other. These latter, or bilingual parishes, constitute the chief difficulty. If an Englishman is appointed to them, how can he satisfy the Welsh? if a Welshman, how can he minister to the English? The clergyman should, of course, be able to speak both languages; but he must speak one of them as an acquired, the other as a native tongue; and the very circumstance which attracts his Celtic parishioners will repel the Saxons. Again, how is he to manage about the services? Here he cannot please both nations; so he is reduced to a compromise which pleases neither, by performing service alternately in either tongue.* The rule adopted by the Welsh bishops seems, in itself, a right one; namely, that where so much as a sixth part of the parishioners do not understand English, at least half the Church Services should be in Welsh. Yet when, as often happens, the English inhabitants are churchmen and the Welsh dissenters, the action of this rule is unsatisfactory; compelling, in fact, the performance of one service every Sunday to empty walls. In those places where English is either generally unknown, or universally understood, the same perplexities do not occur. But in the former case, where Welsh prevails exclusively, another difficulty is introduced, from the want of a supply of fit persons to undertake the ministerial office. The Bishop of Llandaff, in the valuable charge with which he commenced his Episcopal labours, states it as the result of his long previous acquaintance with

* In some of these parishes the clergy adopt a singular mode of pleasing their Welsh parishioners, when the service is in English. They give out the text of their sermon, and that alone, in Welsh. The effect upon a stranger is sometimes startling. He imagines that the clergyman is suddenly bursting into a paroxysm of "the unknown tongues."

South Wales (he having been for fifteen years Vice-Principal of Lampeter), that the only class whence the Welsh-speaking clergy can hope for recruits, is too poor even to afford the small expense of a Lampeter education.* We may add, that the same fatal difference of language excludes Wales from a source of aid by which England is largely benefited. There we see many of the very poorest livings held by clergymen of independent fortune, who have taken orders from a love for the work of the ministry, and who neither need nor seek more valuable preferment. Such men would gladly help that most ancient branch of their Church which has been established in Britain ever since the time of Constantine. But they are shut out by the impassable barrier of a foreign tongue.

Another cause of the inefficiency of the Welsh Church is the immense size of the parishes into which its territory is divided. As examples, we may mention Llandrillo in St. Asaph diocese, comprising an area of forty-two square miles, and endowed with only 161*l.*; Beddgelert in Bangor, comprising nearly fifty square miles, and endowed with 93*l.*; Ystradyfodwg in Llandaff, containing forty square miles, and endowed with 120*l.*; and Caron in St. David's, comprising about fifty-five square miles, and endowed with 80*l.*!† In the English mountains there are to be found parishes of even greater area than these, but there they have been mostly divided into separate chapelries, of a manageable size‡; whereas the

* Primary Charge of Bishop of Llandaff, p. 45—47. The Bishop suggests as a remedy, the foundation of Scholarships or Exhibitions; a recommendation which has been since acted on by some benevolent persons.

† Many similar instances are given by Sir T. Phillips, p. 222—224.

‡ Thus the parish of Kendal, in Westmoreland, contains an area of above a hundred square miles; but it has been divided into sixteen chapelries, each of them under the charge of an incumbent endowed with about 70*l.* per

Welsh parishes have generally remained undivided. It is evident that such an extent of parochial territory renders the full performance of pastoral duties impossible.

The great size of these mountain parishes shows that when our parochial system was originally established, they were very thinly inhabited. And so they remained till the present century. But now, in some parts of Wales, especially in the south, the mineral wealth which has been discovered below the soil has covered its surface with a dense population. The counties of Glamorgan and Monmouth (nearly the whole of which are included in the diocese of Llandaff) contained 140,000 inhabitants in the year 1821; and 417,000 in 1851. So that the population has trebled in thirty years. Within the last ten years it has risen from 305,000 to 417,000; a greater increase than that of any other portion of Great Britain. Thus the ecclesiastical agency, which was intended to provide for a few shepherds and farmers scattered among the hills, is now called on to meet the wants of overgrown manufacturing towns, which are doubling themselves every twenty years. So that we see "the machinery and appliances of the Church, originally designed for tens, or at most for hundreds, standing in solemn mockery of the wants of thousands and tens of thousands."* It might have been hoped that the creators of this vast population would have spent

annum. So the large parishes of Crossthwaite in Cumberland, and Kirby Lonsdale in Lancashire, are each divided into seven chapelries.

* See Letter of Archdeacon Williams, of Llandaff, on the wants of the Diocese (London, 1850), p. 5. Much interesting information will be found in this pamphlet, the author of which is distinguished not only by his eloquence and ability, but by a practical wisdom to which the Church of Wales is already largely indebted. Among other instances, he mentions that of Bedwelty parish, which in 1801 contained 619 inhabitants, and now contains about 30,000.

some portion of their enormous wealth for the benefit of those to whose toil they owe all that they possess. But we grieve to say that, with a few noble exceptions*, they have hitherto shown themselves insensible to the truth, that property has its duties as well as its rights. One of the Government Commissioners says of this manufacturing population: — “I regard their degraded condition as entirely the fault of their employers, who give them far less tendance and care than they bestow on their cattle, and who, with few exceptions, use and regard them as so much brute force instrumental to wealth, but as no-wise involving claims on human sympathy.” †—Strong as this language is, we fear it is not exaggerated.

Having then to contend against all these gigantic difficulties, the progress which the Church of Wales has made in the last few years is most creditable to those who have been instrumental in effecting it. And though such improvement has been chiefly in the more civilised districts, yet even among the peasant clergy sufficient amendment has taken place to show the truth of our previous remark, that poverty, though the actual cause, is not a necessary cause, of many blemishes which have disfigured the establishment. In the first place, those

* Amongst these exceptions the Rhymney Iron Company should be mentioned with honour. In 1838 they unanimously agreed to the following resolution, “*That the Company having caused to locate, on what were before barren mountains, a population of eight thousand souls, is upon every principle bound to provide and endow a church for the use of the tenants of the Company.*” Accordingly the Company built and endowed a church and parsonage, and provided schools also.

† Rep. ii. p. 293. See also the anecdote at p. 63. We find from the Report of the Diocesan Church Building Society, that 1000*l.* was anonymously given last year, to be expended in building a church in whatever spot might be considered the most spiritually destitute in the diocese. After due consideration it was determined to spend it in building a church for the work-people of the wealthiest iron master in Great Britain.

gross and scandalous abuses which prevailed in the last century are either entirely swept away, or fast disappearing. Episcopal superintendence has been changed from a name into a reality. Archdeacons visit their archdeaconries, and the obsolete office of rural deans has been revived; so that the bishop is kept constantly supplied with information of the state of every parish in his diocese. The ordinance of Confirmation, which non-resident prelates had suffered to fall into disuse, is now regularly administered. The clergy reside, for the most part, upon their livings, and no longer leave their duties to be discharged by half-starved curates. Pluralities are henceforward impossible, and the pluralist will soon be an animal as extinct as the Plesiosaurus. Full services are now performed in churches which had never before been opened twice a Sunday within the memory of man. Glebe houses are rising in every direction.* New churches are built; and old ones are restored which the slothful negligence of a former generation suffered to fall into ruin. The eighteenth century may be called preeminently the age of ecclesiastical dilapidation. Totally without the sense of architectural beauty, it resigned the glorious masterpieces of Gothic art to the mutilation of the churchwarden; the cheapest patchwork of lath and plaster was good enough to repair a church. But in England there was at least sufficient sense of decency to keep the walls standing, and the roof weather-tight. In Wales, on the contrary, several parishes thought it the cheapest method to let the structure tumble down † altogether; and the negligence of ecclesi-

* In St. Asaph 70 parsonages have been built or restored in the last 40 years (Canon Williams' Sermon, p. 23.). In Llandaff 60 parsonages were added during the 20 years of Bishop Copleston's episcopate.

† Instances are given at Rep. ii. p. 163., and other parts of the Reports.

astical authorities actually connived at this breach of law. But such slovenly profaneness was not confined to sequestered villages; it extended even to Episcopal residences and Cathedral foundations. The palaces at Llandaff and St. David's were abandoned to the moles and bats. The prebendaries of Brecon suffered their Collegiate Minster to fall into decay. But the ruin of Llandaff Cathedral was the worst example, and most characteristically illustrates the age in which it occurred. The bishop had long ceased to reside; the prebendaries had followed his example*; the daily service had been discontinued; the very organ had been broken up, and Willis the antiquary (who visited the Cathedral before its fall) tells us that he found the pipes scattered about the organ-loft. The building itself was suffered to remain utterly without repair, although the Chapter had repeated warnings of its dangerous condition. At last, it was literally blown down by a great storm in 1722. The nave and towers were left in ruins; the choir underwent a more degrading fate, for it was patched up in the worst style of a Baptist Meeting-house; the noble arches being filled with brickwork, bull's eye windows being added for ornament, and a white-washed ceiling to make all snug. The then bishop congratulates himself on the change, in a letter which has been happily preserved. "We have," he says, "a quarry of alabaster near the place, with other very good materials for stucco, and we have employed a skilful plaisterer to adorn the inside in such a manner as decency requires. . . . We propose to take down the two steeples which at present serve as a western front to the two aisles, and to raise a tower over the front of the nave, and then to finish with a

* See the address of Bishop Blethin to the Prebendaries of Llandaff, in the Appendix to this volume (Note A.).

rustic porch.”* Such was the fate of a cathedral which had been the seat of a Christian bishopric while the Saxons were yet idolators, and when Canterbury was still a pagan city. In this disgraceful condition the fabric remained for 120 years, typifying, by its appearance, the state of the Church to which it belonged; a Church whereof two-thirds exhibited the spectacle of an ancient and venerable institution fallen into uselessness and decay; and the only portion which still served any religious purpose, was transformed into the semblance of the conventicle. Let us hope that as its ruin was thus emblematical of the past, so its restoration may be significant of the future. At all events, its present condition shows that the sordid economy of a former age has been superseded by a different spirit. Thanks to the conscientious zeal of the late and present deans, it is fast rising from its ruins, in all its original beauty. The Gothic arches have emerged from their plaster covering; the conventicular abomination has utterly disappeared; and the graceful clerestory and lofty roof once more raise the heart heavenwards.

Thus a flagrant instance of ecclesiastical breach of trust has been atoned for, and a foul blot wiped out from the escutcheon of the Church. But this is only one of many examples where the piety of the children is paying the debts of their fathers, in the matter of church-building. By the most strenuous efforts, the Church is striving to keep pace with the increase of population in the manufacturing districts. During the last three years ten additional churches, and nearly twice that number of clergy, have been provided, to meet, in some degree, the most pressing wants of that vast tide of po-

* Extracted from a letter written by Bishop Harris, of Llandaff (dated Oct. 22, 1736), to an ancestor of the late Lord Rolle.

pulation which has deluged the counties of Monmouth and Glamorgan; and this work has been accomplished mainly by the labours of the present bishop. Similar efforts have been made to supply the needs of the Flintshire coal fields, and the Carnarvon stone-quarries. And even in the rural districts, many parish churches have shaken off the slovenly squalidity which so long disgraced them, and are restored to decency, if not to beauty.

But the true edifice of the Church is built, not of stones but of men; and therefore we hail with greater pleasure than any of these external reforms, the proofs furnished by the last few years, that the Welsh clergy, as a body, are beginning to take a zealous and effectual interest in the education of the people. Of this, the Minutes of the Committee of Council furnish the most decisive evidence. Not only do we find a most excellent training college for the Principality, established under the eye of the Bishop of St. David's, but diocesan boards of education have sprung up in every diocese, organising masters have been engaged in visiting and remodeling the Church schools throughout the country, and Her Majesty's Inspectors report more and more favourably of these schools every year. But the most infallible test of their improvement is the rapid increase of *Pupil-teachers* paid by Government; because they are only assigned to schools in a state of thorough efficiency, and are themselves subjected to a severe annual examination before they can receive their salary. In the schools under the superintendence of the Welsh clergy, the number of these pupil-teachers in the year 1849 was 90, in the year 1850 was 125, and in 1851 was 182.*

* See Minutes of Council for 1849-50, 1850-51, and 1851-52. In one of the Inspectors' reports we find the following gratifying statement concerning

In England, the improvement of the mountain clergy has, perhaps, been less marked than in Wales; but still it has been considerable. It was itself a great step in advance, when the Grammar schools were superseded by St. Bees' College; although it is to be regretted that the poverty of that establishment does not allow of the erection of proper collegiate buildings; so that the students, instead of being under the moral control and superintendence which they would enjoy if they resided under the same roof with their teachers, are left to their own guidance in private lodgings. This may, perhaps, account for the fact, that the clergy supplied by St. Bees are less satisfactory than those trained at the new University of Durham, the foundation of which has been the greatest boon conferred upon these poor mountaineers. The number of such Durham graduates is increasing among the clergy, though not so rapidly as could be wished; but no doubt the leaven of their example will in time spread throughout the mass. Already drunkenness (once so common) is considered discreditable; and though not extinct, is very much less prevalent than it was. The immoral clergy (formerly a considerable class in these districts) have disappeared. And an increasing interest is manifested in the education of the people, and in other good works.

The reforms which we have described have been

three great centres of the manufacturing district. "The incumbents of Merthyr, Dowlais, and Aberdare, three gentlemen of rare courage and zeal . . . have opened evening schools for adults . . . in which a large corps of volunteers, chosen from among the tradesmen, &c., perform the gratuitous functions of teachers, by monthly and weekly rotation . . . The clergy are always present in these evening schools." (Minutes for 1849-50, p. 212.) [Since the above was first published, the increase of pupil-teachers in church-schools in Wales has gone on rapidly. In 1852 they rose to 324, and in 1853 (the last Minutes which have appeared) they were 350.]

mainly effected, both in England and Wales, during the last quarter of a century. The bishops (with scarcely an exception) have taken a leading part in these improvements, which they have frequently themselves originated, and always encouraged by their co-operation. We are anxious to make this acknowledgment distinctly, because we have spoken strongly of the mischief done by the bishops of a former generation; and we desire not to be misunderstood as if we confounded the present with the past. It would be difficult indeed to condemn too harshly the corrupt negligence and interested laxity of those prelates who misgoverned the church during the last century. The Welsh bishops found it even easier than their English brethren to turn their office into a sinecure. They could despise the censures of a remote and barbarous province, while they spent their time agreeably in the social pleasures of Bath, or the political intrigues of London. Thus sometimes they passed many years without once visiting the flock to which they had sworn to devote their lives. We have seen how they disposed of their patronage, and how faithfully their neglect of duty was copied by their inferiors. But we may form a better notion of what they were, from the autobiography of the man who was one of the last, and was generally considered the best of them, the celebrated Bishop Watson of Llandaff. This prelate held his see for thirty-four years. During all that time he never resided in his diocese, and seldom came near it. During the last twenty years we believe he never visited it. Including his bishopric, he held nine pieces of preferment, and actually contrived to reside on none of them. He settled in Westmoreland as a country gentleman, and there employed himself (we use his own words) "principally in building farm

houses, blasting rocks, inclosing wastes, and planting larches.”* During all these years, he compelled the starving curates of his diocese to travel from South Wales to Westmoreland for ordination; a journey which, in those days, must have cost them a year’s salary. And yet, at the close of a long life, he looks back upon his career with the most undoubting self-complacency, and evidently considers himself a model of Episcopal merit. And what is still more singular, he was so considered by others, and was generally regarded as an ornament of the bench. So low was the standard of opinion, fifty years ago. By such men irrevocable harm was done, yet they escaped with no censure. And now the sins of the fathers are most unjustly visited, not on their children, but on their successors. This has been especially the case in Wales, where a small but active knot of agitators tries to gain a miserable popularity by rousing the dormant jealousy of race, and stirring up the passions of Celt against Saxon. This party makes the appointment of “Saxon bishops” a special grievance, and the abuse of existing Welsh bishops a profitable part of their political capital. The Bishop of St. David’s has been made the chief mark for their shafts†; and we honour him for the manly frankness with which he has turned round on his assailants, and exposed the

* We cannot quote this autobiography without recommending it to our readers as one of the most amusing books ever published. The picture of Cambridge as it was in the middle of the last century is particularly interesting, and forms a sort of continuation to the period of Bentley and Middleton.

† The character of these attacks may be imagined from the popular superstitions to which they have given rise. Thus it is said to be believed in Cardiganshire that the bishop is everywhere accompanied by a favourite dog, which is trained to *know and bite a curate*. We have no doubt that this belief has saved his lordship from many troublesome applications.

motives by which they are actuated. We fully agree with him, that it is important that the English public and English statesmen should be made aware of the meaning of that clamour for Welsh bishops which sounds at first so plausible. If these agitators contended only that a Welsh bishop is the better for understanding the Welsh tongue, we should quite agree with them. But they are not satisfied with this. The two bishops of South Wales already preach in Welsh. The very prelate whom they chiefly assailed, acquired the language so perfectly as to use it in public within a year of his appointment. And any intelligent Englishman might do the same, unless he were made a bishop so late in life as to have lost the faculty of learning a new language, which would make his appointment objectionable on other grounds. But the *Dim Saesoneg* party tell us that they will have no bishops but those whose mother-tongue is Welsh. The clergy who fulfil this condition we have already described. At any rate, the number of Welsh-speaking clergy otherwise qualified for the episcopal office, is too narrow to afford a proper field for selection ; and we leave our readers to judge whether the main body would supply desirable rulers for the Church.

We repeat, then, that the existing bishops are not responsible for the evils which we have mentioned. On the contrary, they have done, and are doing, their best to reform what is amiss. So far as the executive government of the Church can amend its defects, their amendment is secured. But in truth the changes needed are beyond the power, not only of any individual bishop, but of all the bishops collectively. The reforms required are not administrative but legislative reforms. The thing wanted is a better educated and more respected

body of clergy ; and this cannot be obtained (speaking generally) without an ampler provision for their education and maintenance. Here then are two desiderata : less poverty and more instruction. A third, is a stricter discipline, to repress scandalous offences. A fourth, more perfect organisation, to make the Church in reality what it is in idea, the dispenser of the greatest possible good to the greatest possible number. How are these four wants to be supplied ?

First, the income of every parochial clergyman throughout the Welsh and English mountains should be raised to not less than 200*l.* per annum. This is not the place for discussing the details of such a reform ; but we believe that the revenues to be vested in the Ecclesiastical Commissioners will afford the means for effecting it. In these revenues will ultimately be included the *appropriate tithes* (*i. e.* those alienated to ecclesiastical bodies), which amount in Wales to a quarter of the whole tithe rentcharge. However the augmentation of small livings is effected, it ought to take place gradually ; the benefices being augmented as they successively fall vacant. Thus a superior class of men would be induced to educate their sons for the ministry of the Church.

As to the second desideratum, of securing a higher education for the mountain clergy, the course of improvement already begun should be farther carried out. Proper buildings should be provided for the College of St. Bees', that its students might be brought under moral and social, as well as intellectual, discipline. The college itself might be incorporated into the University of Durham, on the same principle as so many colleges are affiliated to the University of London. Thus its students would gain the advantage of stricter examinations

and academic degrees. In Wales, the College of Lampeter should (as Sir T. Phillips advises) be transformed into the University of St. David's. Its staff of professors should be increased, and its collegiate buildings should be rendered adequate to accommodate a sufficient number of future clergy to supply the demands of the principality. Exhibitions and scholarships ought also to be founded for the support of the poorer theological students; a good work which (as we have mentioned) has been already begun at Lampeter. The funds necessary for these educational purposes can scarcely be now expected from the State; although it would have granted them willingly thirty years ago, had the rulers of the Church been at that time alive to her wants. But it would not, perhaps, be too much to hope that Parliament might advance to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners what was requisite to render the existing institutions efficient; such loan to be repaid by instalments out of the income at the disposal of the Commissioners, which is increasing annually.

Much aid might also be given to the education of the poorer clergy, if Mr. Lingen's suggestions concerning endowed grammar schools (Rep. i. p. 41.) could be carried out. He proposes that the free nominations in those schools should be thrown open to competition, and bestowed upon the more distinguished scholars of the primary schools; by which means a supply of the fittest material would be continually drawn upwards from below. The same advantage will no doubt, in some degree, result from the creation of the pupil-teacher system; the greatest educational reform which has ever been made in this country.

As to the third desideratum, stricter discipline, it has been long generally acknowledged that some legislative

interference is required; yet it has been found very difficult to frame any satisfactory measure on the subject. When a clergyman is notoriously guilty of some flagrant offence, such as drunkenness or immorality, the bishop is often inconsiderately blamed for allowing him to escape with impunity, by those who know not how small is the power of a bishop over an incumbent. In such a case the bishop must prosecute the offender at his own expense in the Ecclesiastical Courts; and, from some defect of evidence, or some technical mistake, he may fail at last in obtaining a conviction, after having spent several thousand pounds in vain. Yet we do not blame the law, while the organisation of the Church remains what it now is, for so jealously limiting the exercise of episcopal authority. So long as any power is irresponsible and arbitrary, it ought to be narrowly watched, and fenced in with restrictions. Nor would it suffice to surround the bishop with a council of presbyters, as some propose, although that would undoubtedly give greater weight to his decisions. For the laity will always entertain a just jealousy of power wielded only by the clergy, even though it be over a member of their own order. What sort of justice would Mr. Gorham have received had he been tried by a jury of Exeter clergymen? A tribunal consisting exclusively of professional men must necessarily be unfitted for trying a member of their own profession. They know too much about him beforehand; and they are unconsciously swayed by class prejudice or party antipathies. This does not apply peculiarly to the clergy. A jury of barristers would be a very bad tribunal for the trial of an unpopular advocate. The verdict of a court-martial is notoriously often swayed by considerations extraneous to the justice of the case; though in this instance an

exceptional judicature is tolerated by the law, from the absolute necessity for immediate action in military affairs. But ecclesiastical causes may be conducted more deliberately; and the laity have shown that they will rather endure many flagrant scandals than allow of any approximation to priestly tyranny.

The third desideratum, therefore, cannot be supplied without the fourth; better discipline is impossible without better organisation. In order that the Church may be enabled even to repress the offences of her own officers—much more, that she may become the channel of social regeneration to the people—she must comprehend in her practical administration, not only her ministers, but her members. In the words of Bunsen, she must cease to be a “clergy-church.” Her laity must find a place in her system; and that a post, not merely of passive obedience, but of active co-operation. As things now are, a layman may pass through life without being once called to perform any ecclesiastical function. In other Protestant Churches and sects, the religious layman is as much an office-bearer as the clergyman; he has a function to discharge, a work to do. The whole ecclesiastical community is thus pervaded by a common life, and all co-operate, with a personal interest, in promoting the ends of the body corporate. So it must be with the Church of England before she can win that triumph over abuses inherited from the past, and difficulties developed by the present, which, we trust, is still before her. She must live as a community, and not only in the lives of isolated individuals. At present she is like those lower orders of animals which are divided into a number of separate centres of nervous action, with no pervading will to give unity to the whole. She must rise to that higher

scale of animated being in which the central volition is diffused by a spontaneous action through all the members; "the whole body being fitly joined together, and compacted by that which every joint supplieth, according to the effectual working in the measure of every part."

To accomplish this there would be no need of revolutionary changes. It would be no difficult matter to give a recognised existence and ecclesiastical functions to the communicants of every parish; to unite the clergy of each rural deanery, with lay representatives from their several parishes, into a ruri-decanal presbytery; to entrust such presbyteries with the election of a diocesan Convention; and to assign to each of these bodies their proper work, under the superintendence of the Bishop. The times are ripe for such a reform as this; and till it is effected, the Church must remain mutilated. If it were accomplished, it would probably soon be followed by all and more than all the changes which we have represented as desirable. One consequence to be expected from it would be the reabsorption into the Church of those great bodies of dissenters who agree in her doctrines, and object not to her forms. The natural position of the followers both of Whitfield and Wesley, is the position which they retained for so many years in spite of persecution, that of Religious Orders affiliated to the Church of England, and superadding to her system an internal discipline stricter than it is possible, or would be desirable, to enforce universally in a National Church. Who can doubt that these communities would return to the post which they quitted so reluctantly, if the lay element were duly represented in the councils of the Establishment? Then, and not till then, the Church would include almost the

whole population in her pale, and that strength which is now wasted in intestine warfare would be directed against moral evil.

Many of the clergy complain that for a century and a half the Church of England has been left without a government. They say that, had Convocation been suffered to sit during this period, the abuses which we have enumerated would have been impossible. Non-resident bishops (for example) would have been shamed into at least an outward show of decency, if a representative assembly of the Church had annually met, in which their default of duty might have been discussed. We may admit this, and yet maintain that greater evils would have been caused than cured, by committing the government of the Church to the Convocation as it is at present constituted. The laity of England are firmly determined never to entrust the Church of England to the sway of a clerical assembly. As a well-known dignitary wittily observed the other day, the fate of the Church must not be risked on the battle-field of *Stenoclerus*.* But the feeling would be different, if representatives of the laity, in due proportion, were joined with the representatives of the clergy, as in the Convention of the Episcopal Church of America, or the Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland. No fear could then be entertained lest the powers necessary for discipline and efficiency should be abused to the promotion of sacerdotal interests.

* See Herodotus, ix. 64. [It should be remembered, however, that the Convocation has no power to alter its own Constitution. It ought, therefore, to be praised, not blamed, for exercising the powers which it possesses, and making such progress as it can in the right direction. In the two years which have passed since these remarks were first published, it has done far more than could reasonably have been expected.]

The practical advantages which would be derived from the existence of such a body are sufficiently obvious. Indeed, it must be universally admitted to be an anomaly, that while we have the Horse Guards to regulate the army, and the Admiralty to watch over the navy, we have provided no instrumentality whatever to superintend a department of the public service surely not less important. If muskets and uniforms require occasional alteration, so also do sees and parishes. If regiments have been sometimes misgoverned, so have dioceses. Our defences may need repair to keep out ecclesiastical as well as military invaders. Imagine the condition in which both army and navy would now be, had they been left for a hundred and fifty years to the direct administration of Parliament, with no intermediate machinery provided for adapting them, from time to time, to the changing circumstances of the age.

We do not believe that Parliament would resist any well considered measures for giving the Church a machinery which should enable her to work efficiently. For if the State had ceased to believe in the principle of an Establishment—if it were convinced that the religious instruction of the people would be more wisely entrusted to the Voluntary System—it would carry out this conviction by disestablishing the Church. That is, it would appropriate (with due respect to vested interests) the ecclesiastical revenues to civil purposes. But to this course the Legislature has never yet shown the slightest inclination. It could not therefore consistently, while maintaining an Establishment, refuse to it that government which might be held, after mature consideration, most conducive to the ends for which, and for which alone, the Church has been established. We believe that the great body of the Church, both lay

and clerical, are daily becoming more and more of one mind upon this question. And we are convinced that when those who thus agree come at last to learn their strength, and their unanimity, they will find all obstacles disappear before them.

CHURCH PARTIES.

OCTOBER, 1853.

Preface to the 3rd Edition.

The Author's object in writing the following Essay was to show how much of good exists in all the great parties of the Church, and to prove that the evils and follies, often attributed to whole parties, are really confined to their extremes. In a faithful picture of the latter, it was impossible to avoid a description of absurdities, which, being in themselves ludicrous, cannot be described without raising a smile. Some most excellent people have objected to the appearance of levity thus given to the treatment of a serious subject. But these objectors should recollect that the existence of the absurdities attacked injures the cause of religion, and that the only possible remedy is to exhibit them in their true colours. To say that such exposure casts ridicule on religion, is as mistaken as it would be to say that those who decry pews and galleries are ridiculing church architecture. It is hoped and believed that nothing really sacred is treated profanely in the following pages. And accusations of levity may be more easily borne, when it is remembered that they were brought, on the same grounds, against the Provincial Letters; for the bitterest enemy of satire must admit that an attempt, however feeble, to imitate Pascal's example, cannot be really inconsistent with religious earnestness.

It is needless to notice the numerous attacks made on other grounds by the organs of the extreme parties. One direct misrepresentation, however, has been published, which must be answered. It has been said that, in this Article, the Recordite party is "described as Antinomian." It is a sufficient refutation of this to call the reader's attention to page 79. (being page 285. in the Edinburgh Review), where it is expressly said that the preachers of this party "*seldom* proceed to the conclusion of the Antinomian."

The above-mentioned misrepresentation has been defended on the ground that, in the account of the Recordite creed, the Reviewer states, that from the doctrine of justification by faith, the Recordite "infers the worthlessness of morality." But that phrase is so fully

explained in the very passage where it occurs, that such a misinterpretation of it ought to have been impossible.

It has also been objected, that no man ought to be called a member of the Recordite party, unless all his opinions agree with those of the *Record* newspaper. This objection is founded on a simple misconception. By the *Recordite* party is designated, according to the definition given, *the extreme section of the Evangelical party*; which section, taken as a whole, is represented in the press by the *Record* newspaper. Would those who object to this use of the term *Recordite* be willing to restrict their own application of the term *Tractarian* to the few persons who agree in every sentiment of all the ninety *Tracts for the Times*?

A complaint similar to that last mentioned has been also made from the opposite quarter. It has been urged that it is unfair to apply the term *Romanisers* to clergymen of the Tractarian party, on the ground that some of them have expressed strong antipathy against the Church of Rome. This objection also is founded on misconception of the term. It may suffice to refer to the analogy of the verb *Gallicise*. A man who imitates the French customs and the French style as nearly as the English language and English nature will permit, is a *Galliciser*, although he may be engaged in actual hostilities against France. A *Romaniser* does not mean a *Romanist*, any more than a *Galliciser* means a *Gaul*.

Postscript to the 5th Edition.

There are some differences between the present and the former editions of the following Essay. In the first place, the description of the Broad Church party has been considerably enlarged. Secondly, the names of all living individuals criticised have been struck out. It is true that, in its original form, the Article mentioned very few persons by name; and that no one was noticed except for his public acts or his published writings. Yet, to those few, it gave greater annoyance than could possibly have been anticipated. For it was written only for the ordinary circle of readers of the *Edinburgh Review*; and no one could have foreseen that its circulation would be so far wider, and consequently its criticisms so much more irritating. Hence the present alteration has been made, that no feelings of personal annoyance may be perpetuated.

In making this change, however, I wish it distinctly to be understood that I retract nothing which I have previously published, except in the single instance of the Bishop of Ossory. In the original Article, this bishop was classed among the "Recordite" party on the

evidence of one of his Visitation Charges. The passage in that charge to which I referred, still appears to me liable to the objection made against it. But the other works of the bishop fully prove that he does not belong to the party in which I had erroneously placed him. I take this opportunity of publicly apologising to him for my mistake; which drew from him a pamphlet in his own defence, written in a style of very natural and excusable asperity, but yet not violating any of the laws of courtesy and propriety.

1. *The Divine Rule of Faith and Practice.* By W. GOODE, M.A. 2nd Edition. London: 1853.
2. *Discourses on the Controversies of the Day.* By W. F. HOOK, D.D. London: 1853.
3. *Means of Unity.* A Charge by Archdeacon HARE. London: 1847.

THE three writers whose works are named above may be taken as representatives of the three great parties which divide the Church of England. These parties have always existed, under different phases, and with more or less of life. But they have been brought into sharper contrast, and have learned better to understand themselves and one another, during the controversies which have agitated the last twenty years. They are commonly called the Low Church, the High Church, and the Broad Church parties; but such an enumeration is the result of an incomplete analysis. On a closer inspection, it is seen that each of these is again triply subdivided into sections which exemplify respectively the exaggeration, the stagnation, and the normal development of the principles which they severally claim to represent. And these subdivisions, though popularly confounded with each other, differ amongst themselves, as much as the delirium of fever or the torpor of old age differs from the calm circulation of health.

It would be an interesting task to trace these parties historically, from the Reformation downwards; to show how far they may be regarded as continuous branches, how far as modern revivals, how far as new modifications of ancient schools of opinion. But this would require researches far too extensive for our limits. We only propose at present to examine the divisions of the existing Church of England, and to study their forms and boundaries, not as they would be coloured in a chronological chart, but as they would be laid down in an actual survey.

Of the parties named above, the most influential in recent times has been that which is termed Low Church by its adversaries, and Evangelical by its adherents. It originated in the revival of religious life, which marked the close of the last and the beginning of the present century, — the reaction against a long period of frozen lifelessness. The thermometer of the Church of England sank to its lowest point in the first thirty years of the reign of George III. Butler and Berkeley were dead, and had left no successors. The last of that generation of clergymen which had founded the Societies for “the Diffusion of Christian Knowledge,” and the “Propagation of the Gospel,” were now in their graves. Unbelieving bishops and a slothful clergy had succeeded in driving from the Church the faith and zeal of Methodism, which Wesley had organised within her pale. The spirit was expelled, and the dregs remained. That was the age when jobbery and corruption, long supreme in the State, had triumphed over the virtue of the Church; when the money-changers not only entered the temple, but drove out the worshippers; when ecclesiastical revenues were monopolised by wealthy pluralists; when the name of curate lost its legal meaning,

and, instead of denoting the incumbent of a benefice, came to signify the deputy of an absentee; when church services were discontinued; when university exercises were turned into a farce; when the holders of ancient endowments vied with one another in evading the intentions of their founders; when everywhere the lowest ends were most openly avowed, and the lowest means adopted for effecting them. In their preaching, nineteen clergymen out of twenty carefully abstained from dwelling upon Christian doctrines. Such topics exposed the preacher to the charge of fanaticism. Even the calm and sober Crabbe, who certainly never erred from excess of zeal, was stigmatised in those days by his brethren as a "Methodist," because he introduced into his sermons the motives of future reward and punishment. An orthodox clergyman (they said) should be content to show his people the worldly advantage of good conduct, and should leave heaven and hell to the ranters. Nor can we wonder that such should have been the notions of country parsons, when, even by those who passed for the supreme arbiters of orthodoxy and taste, the vapid rhetoric of Blair was thought the highest standard of Christian exhortation.

At last, this age of stagnation was ended by that great convulsion which startled Europe from its slumber. The triumph of Atheism in France restored Christianity to England. Faith revived in the tempest; the solemn time woke solemn thoughts; and forgotten truths were preached to eager hearers, by an ever-increasing band of zealous men, whose one desire was to rekindle in the hearts of others that belief which filled their own, in the fundamental doctrines of the Gospel. These doctrines had hitherto been rather tacitly ignored than openly contradicted. The Articles were subscribed by those

who disbelieved * them as "Articles of Peace," to use the fashionable euphemism; but by most they were neither believed nor disbelieved. The mass of the clergy troubled not their souls with theological difficulties, but hunted and tiddled peacefully with the squirearchy. And now, when such doctrines as Human Corruption and the Divine Atonement were prominently brought forward, they were received by the majority with a storm of opposition. The aspect of the struggle which ensued is most anomalous. Truths embodied in every formulary of the Church, enforced in her homilies, and stereotyped in her liturgy, were assailed as heretical novelties by her ministers. Yet they were compelled, Sunday after Sunday, to affirm in their reading-desk what they contradicted in their pulpit. Though they denied human corruption in the sermon, they were forced in the prayers to acknowledge that all mankind were "tied and bound by the chain of their sins;" though they denounced as fanatical all mention of the Atonement, they were compelled to speak of it themselves, not in their own words, but in the words of the Universal Church, with the deepest pathos and the most enthusiastic love. Such inconsistency was too glaring not to be felt, even by the dullest; and it gave an overwhelming superiority in argument to the assailing party. Thus their triumph was more rapid and complete than is usual in theological controversies. In less than twenty years the original battle-field was won, and the enemy may be said to have surrendered at discretion. Thenceforward, scarcely a clergyman was to be found in England who preached against the doctrine of the creeds.

* Paley, in his defence of the Feathers' Tavern petitioners in 1772, states it as an admitted fact that the only persons who then believed the Articles were the Methodists, who were refused ordination by the Bishops.

The faith of the Church was restored to the level of her formularies. But, meanwhile, the combatants who had won the victory were no longer united under a single standard; or rather the banner of the Cross, under which they fought, was seen to wave over the encampments of three separate armies. And each of these was more or less recruited, and its character more or less altered, by the enrolment among its troops of a portion of the conquered enemy.

From this period the Evangelical party began to assume the form which it still retains. At first it had comprehended many different shades of theological opinion. All religious men had been classed together by their opponents as enthusiasts, fanatics, and Methodists, and had agreed to forget their minor differences in their essential agreement. But when the great truths of Christianity were no longer denied within the Church, the maintenance of them ceased to be a distinctive badge of fellowship; and other secondary doctrines assumed greater importance, as forming the specific creed of the majority of those who had hitherto been contented with a more catholic bond of union. Of the tenets which then became, and have since continued, the watchwords of the Evangelical camp, the most conspicuous were the two following; first, "*the universal necessity of conversion*," and secondly, "*justification by faith*." A third was added, to which subsequent controversy gave more than its original prominence, namely, "*the sole authority of Scripture as the rule of faith*."

Each of these doctrines may be held and taught in two ways; either as a living principle of action, or as the corner-stone of a technical system. Thus, "*the necessity of conversion*," in the mouths of some who preach it, means that the selfishness of man's earthly nature

must be superseded by the strength of a diviner life, before his actions can possess any spiritual worth ; in the mouths of others, it means that every individual must experience, on a particular day and hour, certain prescribed sensations, in a defined order. Again, "*justification by faith*" may be an expression of the truth, that peace and holiness must be derived from conscious union with a present Saviour, and can never flow from a routine of outward observances ; or, on the other hand, it may be turned into the scholastic expression of a distinction without a difference. So "*the sole authority of Scripture*" may symbolise the sacred duty of private judgment, involving the necessity of personal religion ; or it may be the mere negation of ecclesiastical authority. Moreover, besides this difference in the mode of apprehending and enforcing these doctrines, there is a farther difference in the results deducible from them. If either be taken as the basis of a system of speculation, it may be made, by an apparently logical train of argument, to evolve extravagant consequences. And these consequences will be embraced by a certain order of minds, whose creed will be the "exaggeration" of Evangelicalism, to which we shall presently return.

The old Evangelical party, the party of Milner, Martyn, and Wilberforce, has for the most part taught its characteristic tenets in their practical and positive, not in their controversial and negative aspect. Accordingly, it has been singularly fruitful in good, both public and private, among rich and poor, to England and to the world. Those great acts of national morality, which will give an abiding glory to the present century, were all either originated or carried by this party in the Church. Its representatives in Parliament, Wilberforce, Stephen, Babington, Thornton, Buxton, and their coad-

jutors, successively led the van of philanthropic progress, and raised the tone of the public conscience. To them is due the suppression of the slave trade in the last generation, to them the abolition of slavery in the present. The reform of prison discipline was effected by their efforts, the criminal law was robbed of its bloodthirsty severity by their aid.* To their benevolent agitation it is owing that Hindoo widows are no longer burnt alive, and that the natives of the most distant and barbarous colonies know that they will not appeal in vain to English sympathy against English oppression. In more recent times the population of our factories and our mines may thank the exertions of another Evangelical champion, for the investigation into their sufferings, and the improvement in their condition. Even the outcasts of society, neglected and despaired of by others, have been won to civilisation by the untiring benevolence of the same party and the same leader, the establishers, though not the inventors, of "Ragged Schools." Others have declaimed more copiously on the diseases of the body politic, and the regeneration of society. But while such men have only talked, these single-minded Christians have worked; doing what they could, and the best they knew, to stop visible and pressing evils; while their depreciators content themselves with idly proclaiming that faith is dead, and worship obsolete.

But while they have devoted themselves thus zealously to philanthropic objects, the members of this party have not neglected to labour for ends more exclusively religious. Convinced of our national respon-

* Without the aid of the Evangelical party, and their out-of-doors agitation, the efforts of Romilly and Mackintosh might have remained fruitless.

sibility to the heathen populations with which our commerce brought us into contact, they inaugurated the present century with the foundation of the "Church Missionary Society." That Society now maintains about two thousand ministers and teachers, of whom two hundred are ordained, and has established more than one hundred stations, scattered over the world. Centres of religious truth and of civilisation are thus fixed in the midst of heathendom, which cannot fail to produce results far greater than anything which they have hitherto effected. Yet the visible fruits already garnered would well repay the labour. For, not to mention the converted towns on the coast of Africa, whole districts of Southern India have embraced the faith; and the native population of New Zealand (spread over a territory as large as England) has been reclaimed from cannibalism, and added to the Church. About the same time, the same party were chiefly instrumental in establishing the "Bible Society," which, in the course of the last half century, has translated the Scriptures into one hundred and forty-eight languages, and circulated forty-three millions of copies. Besides this, it has so greatly reduced the price of the English Bible as to bring it within the reach of the poorest labourer. Nor is it to be reckoned the least merit of this body, that it has promoted Christian charity by forming a bond of union between all sects of Protestants.*

The conspicuous position occupied by these societies, and their striking results, have eclipsed in the public view the more domestic efforts of their supporters; and

* We wish that we were not obliged to confess that this last merit of the Bible Society is too often cancelled by the uncharitable abuse of Roman Catholics, which sometimes forms a main topic at its meetings.

the Low Church party has been accused of neglecting nearer duties, for the more exciting pursuit of evangelising the antipodes. Yet the charge is obviously unfounded; for the very men who were most energetic in their endeavours to christianise the world, were also the authors of every scheme devised in the present century for christianising England. They were the first to call attention to the fact, that our population had outgrown the religious machinery provided by the existing parochial system of the Church. They endeavoured from the beginning, so far as the defective state of the law allowed them, to supply this growing population with the means of worship. The first Diocesan Church Building Society was founded by Archbishop Sumner, soon after he became Bishop of Chester*; and during his episcopate in that diocese he consecrated more than 200 new churches. At a still earlier period, Mr. Simeon of Cambridge had spent his whole private fortune in an effort to meet the same evil by a different method. He saw that, in many of our great towns, myriads were under the pastoral charge of a single clergyman. In such a position he knew that the slothful found ample excuse for doing nothing: but he knew also that the zealous might do much; and that the very sight of a clergyman devoting himself to his work under such difficulties would win co-operation. Acting on this view he purchased the advowsons of many such livings, and vested them in trustees. The inhabitants of Bath, Clifton, Bradford, and many other places similarly situated, have been thus supplied with a body of labo-

* The General Church Building Society was founded by Sir T. Acland, Lord Kenyon, and others, ten years earlier, in 1818; but this is supported by public collections under Queen's Letters, not exclusively by private efforts.

rious ministers; and their improved condition attests the wisdom of the plan.

With the same end in view, the same party founded the "Pastoral Aid Society" in 1836. It now supports more than 300 additional clergymen (besides above 100 lay assistants), ministering to a population of nearly three million souls. Again, at a still later period, they have attempted to reach those godless multitudes who, though within "the sound of the church-going bell," are far beyond the sphere of its attraction. With this purpose they have instituted a new ecclesiastical order, under the name of "Scripture Readers," drawn from the same class of society as those to whom they are sent. These lay Evangelists are often able to penetrate where a clergyman's visit would be repelled; and sometimes their simple earnestness triumphs over the logic of Tom Paine and the rhetoric of the Sunday newspaper, and wins back family after family of baptized heathens to the pale of Christendom.

These are some of the objects effected by the collective exertions of the Evangelical body. But the work they have done is not to be measured by these public undertakings. They have been still more extensively useful by their private efforts, each in his own parish going about doing good, healing the sick, and preaching the Gospel to the poor. It has been by such silent labours that the profound darkness in which the English peasantry were enveloped at the beginning of the century* has been gradually dissipated. They were

* See, for example, Hannah More's account of the state of the Somersetshire peasantry, when she began to establish schools among them. In reading it, one can scarcely believe that such barbarism could have existed in England only fifty years ago. It is true that the "Christian Knowledge Society," at the beginning of the 18th century, made some noble efforts in

the establishers of Sunday Schools, of Infant Schools, and Lending Libraries. By weekly lectures in the sequestered hamlets of their parishes, they brought the teaching of the Church to the door of the most distant cottage. They promoted benefit societies and clothing clubs, and all the manifold machinery of parochial benevolence. And by always residing on their preferment, they brought the civilising influence of a resident gentry to bear upon many a village which had been destitute of that advantage for several generations.

Unhappily, the rapid growth of the towns outstripped their efforts, and therefore the results effected have been wholly inadequate to the necessities of the time. Yet here, too, they did their best; and they were long the only party in the Church which attempted to do anything. By the institution of "District Visitors," they have established the only method of parochial organisation which can enable a clergyman to become the ministering pastor of congregated myriads. Moreover, they have sought out the sailors on our docks, and the diggers on our railways, and gathered them together for worship. And they have not hesitated to preach in filthy courts and alleys, the haunts of vice and infamy, to audiences which could not be tempted to listen under any roof but the sky.*

It is true, that in our own times, these various means of good are pursued with equal zeal by other parties in the Church; yet we must not on that account forget

the same direction, and continued to do all that was done at all for the religious education of the people till recent times. But after the middle of last century, it had fallen into languor and decrepitude, from which it did not revive till after the beginning of the present.

* This open-air preaching has been lately tried with great success by some of the clergy in our large towns, especially at Liverpool.

the debt of gratitude due to their originators. It is often said, indeed, that the Evangelical body are no longer what they were forty years ago; that they have lost their first love, and ceased to do their first works. This charge is perhaps not altogether groundless, for their creed has now become an hereditary system, which must often be adopted more from habit than conviction. Yet if we keep in mind the distinction to be drawn between genuine "Evangelicalism" and its two degradations (the exaggerated and the stagnant), we shall find that the original type still contributes largely and healthily to the religious element of our national life. We have already given sufficient proof of its continuous activity in public matters. In the more important sphere of private duty it is less easy to cite examples, which could not be mentioned without violating the modesty of unostentatious merit in secluded parsonages. But we imagine that most of our readers can supply examples for themselves, by looking round among the clergy of their neighbourhood. Such pastors may not perhaps be men of the most comprehensive understanding; not the fittest teachers for inquiring minds, nor qualified to refute the learned infidelity of Strauss or Newman. But upon the middle and lower ranks of their parishioners, they often have a stronger influence than their more intellectual brethren. The attraction of their personal character, shown forth in a daily life of self-sacrificing love, gradually wins many to righteousness, and turns the hearts of the disobedient to the wisdom of the just. The biographies of two such men, Hamilton Forsyth and Spencer Thornton, have recently been published, and have passed through several editions. They both died before middle age, but were no otherwise distinguished from hundreds of their fellows.

They gave themselves to the work of their calling, with no great abilities and no public notice. Yet those who study the narrative of their lives will see how much they did, by the mere force of unquestionable sincerity and personal holiness, during the short time in which they were permitted to serve their generation. A third biography, equally recent and equally popular with the above (that of Mr. Fox the Missionary), represents an adherent of the same theological school, but of a less ordinary type. While a school-boy at Rugby, he devoted himself in heart to the work of converting the heathen. When he had completed his education at Oxford, he carried this purpose into execution. Southern India was the scene of his ministrations; and under that burning sun, in a few years of too eager labours, he wore out a strong constitution, and came home to die. Yet his life was not thrown away, nor do such martyrs ever sacrifice themselves in vain. In them is still fulfilled that which was said of old, *semen est sanguis christianorum*. For one who thus falls, many spring up to take his place. Henry Fox, himself the follower of Henry Martyn, has been already followed by other academic students like-minded with himself.*

But there is no need to dwell on the merits of the dead, nor to violate the modesty of private station, in order to disprove the assertion that the party of Wilberforce, Cecil, and Simeon is effete. The notion is sufficiently confuted by living examples in the most conspicuous positions. One only we will mention, as a type of his class. Dr. Perry, now Bishop of Melbourne, began his career by obtaining the highest honours which

* The readers of Dr. Arnold's life will remember how another of his "evangelical" friends renounced the comforts of an Oxford fellowship to preach the Gospel on the shores of the Carnatic.

Cambridge can bestow. He was the Senior Wrangler of his year, and afterwards obtained a Fellowship of Trinity, and resided for some years in his College chambers. In that luxurious seat of learning he devoted himself, not to the amusements of literary leisure, but to alleviating the sufferings and caring for the spiritual interests of the destitute and wretched. Barnwell, a great suburb of Cambridge, had recently sprung up, and then contained 10,000 inhabitants, almost exclusively of the very lowest class, and a large proportion of them supported by thieving and prostitution. For this population there was one small church, which held 200 people, and was endowed with 40*l.* per annum. The incumbent (a man of the old school, now deceased) utterly neglected his flock, which was in a state of as hopeless degradation, spiritual, moral, and physical, as it is possible to imagine. Mr. Perry's first step was to purchase the advowson of this living, and to present a working clergyman. He next built two large churches, and divided the overgrown cure into two ecclesiastical districts, each provided with its parochial schools, its district visitors, and other appliances of a well-organised parish. The second of these he took under his own pastoral charge, and refused, for its sake, one of the best livings in the diocese, which the Bishop offered him as a testimonial of his eminent services to the Church. Soon afterwards, the colonial bishopric of Melbourne was pressed upon him by the Government of the day. Mr. Perry was already a man of established reputation and independent fortune. He had everything to lose, and nothing to gain, by accepting the offer. Had he acted on selfish principles, he must have refused to give up the society of Cambridge, the comforts of English civilisation, and the reverential attachment of

grateful parishioners, and to exchange all this for perpetual exile and disheartening labour, far from the seats of all the Muses, among the Mammon-seeking and Jacobinical population of a new colony. But he was not a man to hesitate, when duty was on one side and inclination on the other. All earthly motives urged him to remain; but he heard a voice which called him to build up the Church of Christ, and graft upon the vigorous growth of a new nation the germs of a higher life. That call he obeyed, and went forth in the spirit of the patriarchs, "*not knowing whither he went.*" And now, from time to time, come the tidings of his stedfast faith and patience triumphing over difficulty and prejudice; his unwearied activity; his confirmations in distant settlements; his visitations through the bush; and, latterly, of the personal hardships to which he has been subjected, by the sudden metamorphosis of his diocese into the gold mine of the world. The last intelligence we have seen of him was given by a picture in an Illustrated Newspaper, which represented him preaching on the fork of a tree to the gold-diggers of Mount Alexander. That picture must have touched the hearts of many of his Cambridge pupils, as they remembered the happy English home which he had abandoned for such a destiny. Who shall say that faith is dead, when such fruits of faith are living? Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?

We deny, then, that the old Evangelical party is effete, while it still brings forth children so worthy of their spiritual ancestry. Yet at the same time we must confess that its strength and vigour is relatively if not positively diminished, and that its hold upon the public is less than it was in the last generation. This may be accounted for partly by a certain narrowness

and rigidity in its teaching, which has increased as its traditional doctrines have become more fixed and technical; partly by the almost inevitable tendency of the human mind, while contending for truth, to insist that her shield must have both sides of the same colour; partly also from that neglect of theological learning, with which all parties in the Church are chargeable, and for which the blame must rest, not on one or the other party, but on the universities and the nation.* This neglect, and especially the want of critical study of the text of Scripture, has paved the way for the extravagances of the extreme party which calls itself by the same name, and is by the public often confounded with the old Evangelical body. The disgust but too justly excited by the eccentric offspring, has alienated some reasonable men from the sober-minded parent. This exaggeration of Evangelicalism is sometimes called the Puritan, sometimes, from its chief organ, the Recordite party. In describing it we shall adopt the latter designation; because the name of Puritan, associated as it is with some of the noblest deeds and greatest

* The Evangelical party has been too much devoted to practical work to think much of Literature. Yet its chief literary organ, the "Christian Observer," was at first very ably conducted by Mr. Zachary Macaulay. And it has now, after a long interregnum of dulness, recovered something of its original character. At present, moreover, the party may boast of numbering among its members one of the most learned writers of the day, Mr. Goode, who in his own line of controversial theology is probably unsurpassed. One reason of the neglect of learning in the Church, is that such men are not encouraged by Cathedral Preferment, which would set them free from parochial cares to follow their true vocation. It is a singular and not a creditable fact, that Mr. Goode and Mr. Horne, two of the most eminent contributors to our scanty stock of theological literature, should both be suffered to remain incumbents of London parishes. We see, indeed, from the Clergy List, that Mr. Horne does hold a Prebend of St. Paul's, one of that class called the *laudatur et alget* Prebends, worth eleven pounds per annum. The Canonries are in the gift of the Crown.

men that England ever produced, ought not to be applied to a party which, though adopting the traditional theology of the Puritans, yet has no sympathy in their higher aims; and though it may wear their mantle has not inherited their spirit.

The distinctive doctrines of this party are derived from those of the Evangelical school, by pushing each of these to extravagant consequences. Thus, from *justification by faith* the Recordite infers the worthlessness of morality*; on *conversion by grace* he builds a system of predestinarian fatalism; from *the sole supremacy of Scripture* he derives the dogma of verbal inspiration. Under the first head, he teaches not only that faith is the sole source of virtue, but that its genuineness must be tested not by the works but by the feelings; and faith he defines, not as a spiritual affection, but as an assent to the single proposition "I believe that I am saved." This, at least, is the definition adopted by the more logical members of the party; but the majority, repelled by its monstrous consequences, substitute a circular definition, which makes faith to be "the belief that man is justified by faith." True believers are those only who can pronounce the Shibboleth of the sect; and this is the sufficient criterion of conversion. Hence results that worst of formalisms, the substitution of a form of words for the worship of spirit and of truth. Even at the hour of death, when other delusions are dispelled, this reigns triumphant. The dying

* By a most unfair misrepresentation it has been alleged that the Recordites are, in this passage, called Antinomians. The "Record" itself, however, in a leading article on this essay, vindicates the writer from such a charge, by confessing that its party does hold morality (*as morality*) to be of no spiritual value, unless it be joined with an agreement in their own religious opinions. And this is all that is asserted in the text.

sinner, if his blanched lips can mutter the prescriptive phrase, is dismissed undoubtingly to Paradise. The dying saint, if he has not rehearsed the formula, is consigned to a future of despair. No matter though his life have been spent in the labours of an apostle — though his last words breathe trust and love — his case is considered doubtful, if not desperate, if he has not recited the magic words “I believe that I am justified by faith.” To prove that this is no exaggerated view, we quote the judgment of the party (as expressed in their chief organ) on the death-bed of Arnold. “Did he” (says the critic) “even in death, rest intelligently and clearly on that fundamental doctrine [justification by faith] on which Luther declared the Gospel turned, and whosoever denieth which is not to be accounted, in the words of Cranmer, for a Christian man. WE CANNOT SAY. IT DOES NOT APPEAR.”* To appreciate fully the superstition of this, it must be remembered that Arnold was a conspicuous defender of the doctrine of justification by faith; so that the doubt of his salvation is caused by his failing to go through a certain verbal form in his dying agonies. What heathen incantation, what negro fetish-worship, can be more unspiritual than this idolatry of a Shibboleth?

Yet we have lived to see an exhibition of the same narrow-hearted bigotry even more startling than this. While all Europe was applauding the zeal and love of those saintly women who offered themselves to en-

* Record, Feb 3. 1845. The article goes on to express a charitable hope that Arnold's faith secured his personal safety; but concludes with warning its readers against adopting his opinions lest they should “perceive, when too late, the truth of the closing words of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, “*then I saw that there was a way to hell even from the gates of heaven, as well as from the city of destruction.*”

counter a lingering martyrdom in the pestilential charnel-houses of Scutari, a puny croak was heard from the Recordites of England, denouncing these Christian heroines as unsound in their dogmatical theology. Nor was this all. Not merely were the nurses denounced collectively, but individuals among them were singled out for reprobation. Their noble-minded leader was assailed by disparaging innuendoes ; and still more inexcusably, private ladies who accompanied her, holding no official position, and having never obtruded themselves on public notice, were dragged from their obscurity by the vile pen of unmanly calumniators, and stigmatised by name in the columns of a religious newspaper as "Puseyites" and "Romanisers." And this was done by pharisaical partisans, who not content with refusing themselves to help in the blessed work, must needs vent their sanctimonious venom on those who had redeemed England from her reproach, and had proved that Protestantism could supply a nobler Sisterhood of Mercy than ever left the shores of Italy or France. It is gratifying to know that these Pharisees were rebuked by a clergyman of the old Evangelical persuasion, a representative of the opinions of Wilberforce and Milner, in whose orthodoxy even the "Record" itself could find no flaw. The following were the words of Mr. Gurney, which we are glad to quote, as proving the correctness of the distinction drawn in these pages between the Recordite and Evangelical parties. He says:

"We have seen a gifted and holy woman marked out by Providence for the blessed healing work — dedicated to it by her own choice — summoned from her privacy by ministers of the crown who knew her worth — changing her quiet duties, without a moment's hesitation, for responsibilities which might have daunted one not strengthened from above — braving all that

cold-hearted and narrow-minded lovers of prudery might say to her disparagement, and then assailed in print by self-styled religious men, as being not perfect in her theology, as having sympathies or associations with things or persons which zealots call by a bad name — as being suspected, at any rate, of certain ‘right-hand or left-hand deflections,’ from the straight path of their orthodoxy. Truly, religious partisanship has done much already to make wits merry and infidels more bold. Men of sagacious and candid minds have marvelled to see the spirit of Christianity so imperfectly reflected, so often contradicted, in the periodical literature which many serious-minded people love best. But the last exhibition, I think, is the worst; and for myself, while I deplore the bigotry, I wonder at the hardihood, which, in the face of the English nation, could make Florence Nightingale the mark for hostile criticism, while the walls of Scutari resound with blessings on her name.”*

The same formalism which leads to this rigid enforcement of a peculiar phraseology, leads also to a superstitious fear of ethical exhortation. If a preacher of the School ventures to enforce morality at all, he does it in a style the most timid and hesitating; and begins by apologising to his hearers for seeming to limit the freedom of the Gospel, and by explaining that his object is not so much to exhort them to holiness, as to convince them of helplessness. If he begs them to abstain from evil, it is only because the commission of sin will “cloud the clearness of their assurance.” Moreover, he is careful to destroy all the cogency of his expostulations, by explaining that sin cannot affect the safety of a believer, for “the sins of believers are forgiven even before their commission.” On the other hand, if a man be not a “believer,” his virtues are nothing

* From a lecture on “God’s Heroes and the World’s Heroes,” by Rev. J. H. Gurney, Rector of Marylebone.

better than "splendid sins."* Hence the very ideas of right and wrong have no meaning beyond the limits of the sect; and within its boundaries they would have as little, but that man's conscience is stronger than his logic. Thus the very preachers who proclaim the "imputed righteousness" of the most sinful believer, seldom proceed to the conclusion of the Antinomian, — "Let us continue in sin that grace may abound."

The belief in Predestination, which we have mentioned as the second article of their faith, does not indeed belong distinctively to them. It is shared by many sects, not only of Christians, but of heathens. Greek philosophers and Turkish mollahs have adopted the same solution of the same insoluble problem. It would be the extremest presumption peremptorily to deny the theoretical truth of that solution; nor is it less presumptuous peremptorily to affirm it. The question is left undecided by Scripture, and cannot be decided by Reason. But, whatever may be thought of fatalism as a speculative theory, it is evident (as Butler has taught us) that men must act as if such a theory were false. Hence, it would seem to follow that exhortations meant to influence action should not put it prominently for-

* The Recordite party justify this assertion by appealing to the 13th Article, which declares that "works done before grace have the nature of sin." But this proposition, if interpreted in the Puritanic sense, would contradict the inspired declaration, that the prayers and alms of the heathen Cornelius were acceptable to God (Acts, x. 4. and 35.). The true meaning of the Article is only that Divine Grace and Human Goodness are co-extensive; so that where there is no Grace there is no Goodness, and, conversely, that wheresoever there is Goodness there is Grace. Thus the virtues of Socrates are not denied, but only ascribed to their true source. Whereas in the Puritanic view (which unhappily was adopted by some of the continental Reformers) they are denied to be virtues at all; and thus the very foundations of all religious evidence, the axiomatic ideas of morality, are cut away.

ward.* This rule is systematically violated by the most popular preachers of the Recordite party, who obtrude their own views of these impenetrable mysteries as certain truth, and deduce consequences from them which shock the elementary ideas of morality. They address their hearers as divided into two classes by an impassable, though invisible, line of demarcation. Those on one side are predestined from eternity to salvation; those on the other are doomed before their birth to reprobation.† The "Church" consists of the former only, though many of them are now living in vice; for they will all, sooner or later, receive that "effectual calling" which will irresistibly compel them to come in. The notion of a Visible Church is (according to these preachers) a falsity: all who do not belong to their "Invisible Church" are without the pale of salvation. Hence their opposition to those parts of the Anglican liturgy which teach that "all who profess and call themselves Christians" are admitted to all the privileges of the Catholic Church.‡ Hence also their anxiety to alter the Baptismal Service, and the Church Catechism. The majority of their fellow-Christians are collectively stigmatised as "the world which lieth in wickedness." And so great is their horror of this Christian world, that, being compelled in the course of the Sunday Lessons to read the declarations that "God loved the world," and that our Lord "came to save the world,"

* Archbishop Sumner's work on "Apostolical Preaching" contains some excellent remonstrances against preaching predestination. If all who profess to look up to him with veneration would follow his advice and example, there would be but few Recordites.

† The word "reprobation" is, however, seldom heard; and the doctrine, though always implied, is seldom distinctly preached.

‡ A clergyman of this party in Devonshire was not long since suspended by the Court of Arches for refusing to read the Baptismal Service without mutilation. See also note B. in the Appendix.

some of them have been even known to interpolate an explanation on the spot.*

From the same theory they derive conclusions concerning the Divine attributes which are peculiarly offensive to the human conscience. For this very reason they delight in proclaiming such tenets, because they consider their rejection a proof of man's natural hostility to God. They assert (for example) that the sole object of the Creator and Redeemer was, not to promote the happiness of his creatures, but to increase his own glory. It would be blasphemous to state the consequences of such a view in its bearing on the axiomatic truth that the perfection of man is to be sought in a moral resemblance to God. Hence, also, they infer that it is the highest attainment of Christian grace to delight in contemplating the execution of Divine vengeance on the wicked.

The third cornerstone of the Recordite creed is the dogma of "Verbal Inspiration." The Bible is regarded, not as a collection of books written by men under Divine guidance, but as a single book, dictated in every word and letter by God himself. This theory, avowedly opposed to the *primâ facie* evidence of Scripture, is maintained by the *à priori* argument, that if we once introduce the slightest uncertainty into Revelation, we are left without any sure guide at all; the precise ground on which Romanists defend Papal infallibility. In accordance with this assumption, every casual allusion in Scripture to a fact of history, geology, or astronomy, however unconnected with religion, must be literally and infallibly accurate. By these dogmatists

* Within the last few years there was a clergyman (now deceased) in Leicestershire who used to read such passages thus: "God so loved the elect," "I came not to judge the elect, but to save the elect," &c.

(says Bishop Hall) "every point of heraldry in the sacred genealogies is made matter of no less than life and death to the soul."* Hence they are compelled to resort to the most arbitrary and unscrupulous misinterpretations, either violently wresting Scripture to make it accord with facts, or denying facts which they cannot reconcile with Scripture. From the principle which they assume, the condemnation of Galileo for affirming the earth's motion follows as an inevitable consequence.† From the same premises it is inferred that each book in the Bible is equally valuable to the Christian, and that the only distinction between the Old Testament and the New is their difference of bulk. Hence the Old Testament, containing four times as many pages as the New, should be four times as much studied. We do not know that this proposition has been arithmetically stated by the Recordite School, but it is practically acted on.‡ By a strange paradox, the very party which in its phraseology most magnifies the Gospel and disparages the Law, practically raises the Mosaic dispensation above the Christian. It is essentially a Judaizing party. The characters on which it

* Hall's Occasional Meditations.

† The earliest instance we have met with of this theory is mentioned in Montucla's History of Mathematics. When first the true doctrine of the Multiplication of Fractions was taught, a Spanish friar wrote against it, alleging that it was heretical to assert that multiplication by a Fraction diminished the Multiplicand, because Scripture had said "Increase and multiply," and thereby had made *Multiplication* equivalent to *Augmentation*. Specimens of modern absurdity, quite equal to this, may be found embedded in that rich conglomerate, the Appendix to the 5th Edition of Professor Sedgwick's "Discourse on the Studies of Cambridge."

‡ Good old Mr. Romaine (a Recordite before the Record) came very near the arithmetical statement. His mode of reading the Bible was to begin at the first chapter of Genesis, till he reached the last of Revelations, and then to begin with Genesis again. Thus he read four pages of the Old Testament for one of the New.

dwells most fondly, the ordinances to which it clings most passionately, are the characters and the ordinances of Judaism. Its models of Christian life are the Jewish Patriarchs. Indeed, the religion of some members of this party seems to consist solely in love of Jews and hatred of Papists. Their favourite society is that which professes to be founded for the conversion of Israelites to Christianity, but which too often acts as a Propaganda for converting Christians to Judaism.* It spends vast sums in sending emissaries over the country who diffuse Judaic views of Scripture, and proclaim the spiritual inferiority of the Gentile to the Jew. Those glorious prophecies of the restoration of Israel, and the blessedness of the new Jerusalem, which have their fulfilment (according to the teaching of St. Paul) in the destinies of the Christian Church, are applied by these propagandists to the carnal seed of Abraham, to the pawnbrokers of Monmouth Street, and the slop-sellers of St. Giles's. Nay, some of the most eminent leaders of the party seek even to revive the ordinance of circumcision; and their most popular writer, the late Charlotte Elizabeth, published a pamphlet addressed to Bishop Alexander (the first English Bishop of Jerusalem), exhorting him to enforce the observance of this rite upon his sons.†

* The faults of this society are not in its design, but in its management; and we must acknowledge that they are redeemed by one great merit, viz., its co-operation in the establishment of the Jerusalem bishopric, the most truly catholic deed ever done by the Church of England, whereby she has given the hand of fellowship to the Protestants of Germany on one side, and the Greek, Syrian, and Coptic churches on the other.

† "Israel's Ordinances, a Letter to the Bishop of Jerusalem." The Bishop was a Jewish convert, and the substance of the pamphlet is contained in the following paragraph. "Call you what we will, my Lord, you are a Jew, a circumcised Jew. My dear Lord, bear with me, while I respectfully and affectionately put once more the query — *why are not your sons also Jews?*"

But the most conspicuous example of Judaizing tendencies in the party, is furnished by their Sabbatarian views. In defiance of the clearest expressions of Scripture—in defiance of the universal consent of all foreign churches, Catholic and Protestant—in defiance of the express declarations of the Reformers—but in accordance with the tradition of the Scotch and English Puritans—they teach that the Christian Lord's Day is identical with the Jewish Sabbath. Nay, they require that it should be observed with a stern severity unknown even to the Mosaic ritual. The effect of such an observance upon those who submit to it for conscience' sake, is, we freely own, most beneficial. Nor does it differ materially from that observance of the day which is the highest privilege of the Christian. Those who know how much we need every help to raise our thoughts above the turmoil of the world, will feel thankful that they are permitted to rest from earthly cares and amusements on the Sunday. They will be ready to exclaim with Herbert,—

“O Day most calm, most bright,
The fruit of this, the next world's bud,
The week were dark but for thy light.”

But the Puritans and their puny modern copyists have always enforced this religious privilege of the advanced Christian, as if it had been a command compulsory upon all men. And they have enforced it, moreover, in its negative and prohibitory aspect; where they could, by penal laws: everywhere, by damnable denunciations. Thousands are thus alienated from piety, by associating it from their earliest childhood with a day of gloom and restriction, imposed

upon them by arbitrary force. As one example among a hundred of the method pursued by this party to repel children from religion, we will quote the following hymn "for Saturday night," from a popular collection of devotional poetry:—

"Haste, put your playthings all away,
To-morrow is the Sabbath day.
Come bring to me your Noah's ark,
Your pretty tinkling music-cart.
Because, my love, you must not play,
But holy keep the Sabbath day.

"Bring me your German village, please,
With all its houses, gates, and trees ;
Your waxen doll with eyes of blue,
And all her tea-things bright and new.
Because, you know, you must not play,
But love to keep the Sabbath day.

"Now take your Sunday pictures down,
King David with his harp and crown,
Good little Samuel on his knees,
And many pleasant sights like these.
Because, you know, you must not play,
But love to keep the Sabbath day."*

To such well-meant coaxing, the child replies bluntly, "I don't like Sunday pictures, Ma ; I like my doll." And on being scolded for this, and taunted with the example of Samuel, if it is a very naughty child it exclaims, "I hate that nasty little Samuel!" Whereupon a whipping terminates the controversy. A somewhat similar poem is sung in many Infant Schools,

* "Rhymes for my Children," by Mrs. Duncan.

which should be entitled "The Infant's Reason for hating Sunday." It begins thus :

" We must not play on Sunday ;
But we may play on Monday,
On Tuesday and on Wednesday,
On Thursday, Friday, Saturday,
Till Sunday comes again.

" We must not laugh on Sunday ;
But we may laugh on Monday,
On Tuesday and on Wednesday,
On Thursday, Friday, Saturday,
Till Sunday comes again."

We may laugh (on Monday) at these absurdities, but the results of such folly are often no laughing matter. The child is father of the man ; and a childhood thus trained too often fathers a manhood of impiety. Yet it is not on those who can be constrained, whether by force or by persuasion, to Sabbatise, that the bad effects are most serious. The real sufferers are the working millions, whom Nature, shut out by factories and furnace-chimneys during the week, draws forth upon the day of rest, to refresh their lungs with purer air, and their eyes and hearts with gazing on the unspoiled works of their Creator. Religion is too often known to these multitudes in the Puritan form alone. They have been taught by their spiritual guides, both Episcopalian and Dissenting, that it is "Sabbath-breaking" to look upon green fields and running brooks ; and that Sabbath-breaking is as great a sin as drunkenness or fornication. Thus their Sunday pleasures, in themselves so innocent, are turned into guilt. Being placed under the ban of religion, they become reckless of her restraints. As they are Sabbath-breakers already, they think they may as

well be drunkards too. And when, upon the wings of steam, they have left the smoky town far behind, they vary their excursions by a visit, not to the rural church (whither, by wiser treatment, they might easily have been won), but to the road-side ale-house. Thus the masses are brutalised and degraded by the attempt to raise them prematurely to a high degree of spiritual advancement.

Such are the main points in the theoretical system of this extreme school. We must remember, however, that a man may agree in some of these opinions, and yet be no genuine Recordite. To make him such, he must combine his creed with the proper amount of ignorance and intolerance, and must enforce it in a damnatory spirit. Of this latter quality a few specimens will suffice, out of the ample supply afforded by the recognised organ of the party. Take the following as a sample of the mode of silencing an opponent: "Of all this we may say to Mr. Gresley, as Christian says to Ignorance in *Pilgrim's Progress*, *the working of which faith, I perceive, poor Ignorance, thou art ignorant of*. As to this person going on to describe the errors of men of Evangelical principles, the propriety of such criticisms from such a quarter is that of a man blind from his birth discoursing on the ocular mistakes of those who have sight."* In the same spirit the Crystal Palace question is thus settled: "It is surprising that any animal, with a head of a higher order than a Chimpanzee, should pronounce it innocent to open a place for public worldly amusement on the Sabbath."† The same paper, after lamenting the fact that all English railways

* Remarks on Mr. Gresley, reprinted from the "Record" newspaper, p. 18.

† Record, Nov. 19. 1852.

run trains on Sunday, denounces the shareholders as follows: "The consciences of the shareholders and directors appear to be seared. We are tempted to ask, where can such men live? What religion do they profess? Are they Jews? Are they Infidels? Do they ever enter a church?"*

This intolerance, however, proceeds not from a bad heart, but from lack of knowledge and feebleness of mind. Dr. Arnold has justly described their literary organ as "a true specimen of the party, with their infinitely little minds, disputing about anise and cummin, when heaven and earth are coming together around them."† And he defines an "Evangelical" of this class to be "a good Christian, with a low understanding, a bad education, and ignorance of the world."‡ The only objection to this definition is that their ignorance is not limited to worldly affairs, but extends impartially to things sacred and profane. It cannot, indeed, be fully understood except by those who have had the privilege to "sit under" thirty or forty Recordite preachers. Yet, from time to time, specimens are brought before the public, which cast a light upon the depths below. To give instances of their misinterpretation of Scripture, their desperate dislocation of text from context, and the cruel wrongs done to grammar in the struggle, would be an instructive task. But we abstain from undertaking it, lest we should unintentionally connect ludicrous images with holy words.

Such ignorance is often accompanied by a want of taste equally deplorable. This shows itself conspicuously in the grotesque buffooneries of platform oratory. But its most painful manifestation is the irreverence with which even the most sacred names and persons are

* Record, Dec. 6. 1852.

† Arnold's Life, p. 225.

‡ Ibid. p. 221.

treated in the pulpit. Yet for the reason above given, we will not dwell upon this topic.

But we must hasten from the preaching of the party to their practice. Their theory naturally leads them to neglect the mass of their parishioners, and confine their attention to the few whom they regard as the elect. Moreover, their view of the ministerial office makes preaching its only essential function. According to this theory, the clergy must not scruple to omit their visits to the sick and poor, if by so doing they can give greater force to their hebdomadal performance in the pulpit. It is not wonderful that such a doctrine should command the willing assent of a considerable portion of the clerical body. For it is a much easier task to sit in a comfortable study beside a blazing fire, than to trudge in sleet and snow through miry lanes; a much more agreeable duty to lounge over a volume of Divinity in an easy chair, than to kneel beside the filthy bed of a dying pauper.

But, in truth, a Recordite clergyman is out of his element in a parish. When he has one, indeed, he often labours most conscientiously among his parishioners; but the parochial system, with its practical recognition of the universal brotherhood of Christians, cannot be made to square with his theological exclusiveness. What he likes is, not a Parish, but a Congregation. The possession of a chapel in a large town, which he may fill with his own disciples, is his ideal of clerical usefulness. The kind of post desired is continually described in the advertising columns of the "Record." Here is one example out of many:—"A Clergyman M.A. of evangelical views desires a sole charge in some town sphere of usefulness. Advertiser sets forth zealously and faithfully the whole counsel of God, and preaches un-

written sermons. His qualifications being of rather a high order, a suitable stipend required. Also, as he is a BACHELOR, the advantage of good society desirable. Address L. L. B. at the office of the Record."* The above gentleman makes no invidious distinction between one town and another; but the following is more particular, and requires a London audience: "*The Advertiser having been found, under God, very successful in preaching the doctrines of Grace, would be glad in meeting another Metropolitan sphere. He has a powerful voice, an earnest delivery, and a style of preaching best suited to an educated and enlightened audience.*"† It would be unfair to estimate the general character of the Recordite clergy by these advertisements, but they show the nature of the "sphere" most coveted. In fact, few positions are, in a worldly point of view, more enviable than that of the popular incumbent of a town chapel. No vestry patriots vex his meditative moments; no squabbles with tithe-abhorring farmers disturb his sleep. When he looks round him from his pulpit, his glance is not met, like that of the parochial clergyman, by the stare of stolidity or indifference: but he beholds a throng of fervent worshippers who hang upon his lips, and whose very presence as voluntary members of his congregation is a pledge of their personal attachment to himself. There is something not merely soothing to vanity, but animating to the better parts of his nature, in such a spectacle. The zealous man must feel his zeal quickened, the pious his piety warmed, by such evidence of sympathy; and among the Recordite clergy, men of

* The latter part of this advertisement is so strong, that we at first thought it must be a hoax. But its genuineness was acknowledged by the "Record" itself, in answer to a correspondent who attacked it.

† Record, Oct. 25. 1852.

zeal and piety are not lacking. But, besides these advantages, he is exempted from all the more burdensome responsibilities of the pastoral charge. His flock consists exclusively of the wealthy or easy classes: so that the painful task of attempting to enlighten brutal ignorance, and to raise degraded pauperism, is not among his duties. Even if a local district has nominally been attached to his chapel, its poor inhabitants form no part of his congregation, or, at most, only a straggling representative of their class lurks here and there, behind the pulpit, or beneath the organ. The duties of such a district, if there be any, are performed by the Curate, who reads the prayers and is kept "to serve tables" while the incumbent devotes himself to "the ministry of the Word."

This ministry consists essentially in preaching two extempore sermons on the Sunday. But there are other duties incidentally pertaining to his office. One of the most important is that of attending at the evening parties of his wealthier adherents. These social meetings are, indeed, among the most characteristic phenomena of the sect. In them we can best study its peculiar phraseology, and some of its most curious etiquettes and observances. The principal topics discussed in such assemblies are the merits and demerits of different preachers, the approaching restoration of the Jews, the date of the Millennium, the progress of the "Tractarian heresy," and the anticipated "perversion" of High Church neighbours. These subjects are canvassed in a dialect differing considerably from common English. The words "*faithful*," "*tainted*," "*acceptable*," "*decided*," "*legal*," and many others, are used in a technical sense. We hear that Mr. A. has been more "*owned*" than Mr. B., and that Mr. C. has more

"seals"* than Mr. D. Again, the word "*gracious*" is invested with a meaning as extensive as that attached by young ladies to "*nice*." Thus we hear of "a gracious sermon," "a gracious meeting," "a gracious child," and even "a gracious whipping." The word "*dark*" has also a new and peculiar usage. It is applied to every person, book, or place not impregnated with Recordite principles. We once were witnesses of a ludicrous misunderstanding resulting from this phraseology. "What did you mean" (said A. to B.) "by telling me that — was such a very dark village? I rode over there to-day, and found the street particularly broad and cheerful, and there is not a tree in the place." "*The Gospel is not preached there*," was B.'s laconic reply.

In such conversation the evening wears away, not without instruction to the stranger who is initiated into these mysteries for the first time. At length, when he is preparing to depart, a rustling of gowns announces a general change of position; and suddenly the scattered chairs range themselves in a great semicircle, radiating from a central table, at which the clerical hero of the feast is seated. The fatal truth flashes upon the stranger's mind. An "*exposition*" is about to begin, and he is doomed to sit it out. The minute-hand of the time-piece opposite must traverse three-fourths of its circle, before that lengthened torture ceases. And then there follows a scene yet more painful to every right feeling; a bye-play of complimentary etiquette between the clergy present, accompanied by polite pressing and coquettish refusals of the request urged by one upon another to offer the concluding prayer.†

* A preacher is said in this phraseology to be "owned" when he makes many converts, and his converts are called his "seals."

† We trust that nothing we have here said will be considered as implying

But these evening assemblies are not the only amusements permitted by the party. They are often pitied as the doomed victims of *ennui*; for it is supposed that the absence of balls and races, cards and theatres, games of chance and tales of fiction, must render existence insupportable. Yet, even when they are destitute of higher objects, their life is by no means so colourless as is imagined. Novels and fairy-tales, it is true, are forbidden luxuries; but their place is abundantly supplied by the romantic fictions daily issuing from the Prophetic Press.* The imagination, cut down to the roots on one side, only pushes forth more vigorous shoots in another direction. Nor is variety wanting to this literature; for no two writers agree in their predictions, and some new history of futurity is published monthly.

Again, it is a popular delusion that the Recordites are excluded from public amusements. Nothing can be more contrary to the fact. Races indeed, and theatres, they abjure; and good reasons may be urged for the abjuration: but public meetings and platform orators fill up the vacant space. Nor are these accessible only to the Londoner, or confined to the area of Exeter Hall. The religious world of every manufacturing town and watering-place has its fashionable season, when the secondary stars of London shoot down from their metropolitan sphere, to glitter on the provincial boards. Then follow morning meetings in the rotunda,

an objection to the practice of ending the social meetings of Christians with common prayer. We only deprecate the faults which tend to bring that practice into disesteem.

* The fertility of the Prophetic Press may be estimated from the fact, that, besides innumerable treatises and pamphlets, it sends forth several regular periodicals, of which the "Christian Ladies' Magazine," the "Quarterly Journal of Prophecy," and the "Prophetic Herald" have (or had), we believe, the largest circulation.

and evening gatherings in the amphitheatre; Protestant breakfasts and Jewish luncheons; lectures here, addresses there, and speechification everywhere. Day after day, while fathers and husbands are busy in the counting-house, maids and matrons struggle for proximity to the platform. Their patient zeal is rewarded by the grateful orators with allusions complimentary and facetious, contrasting strangely with the solemn themes on which they are grafted.* On these occasions the Jewish Society generally attracts the largest audience; nor is this surprising, when we remember the sex which furnishes the majority of the hearers. For where can curiosity find richer gratification than that supplied by this prophetic propaganda. Their bill of fare includes the immediate approach of the Red Dragon; the achievements of Gog and Magog; a fresh "discovery" of the Lost Tribes (sometimes in the valleys of Kurdistan, sometimes in the plains of Timbuctoo†); a new and accurate account of the battle of Armageddon; and a picture of the subversion of Omar's Mosque by an army of Israelites marching from the Seven Dials. Such is the food provided for that love of Jews which distinguishes the sect. Nor is less ample

* The following specimen from the "Record" may suffice: "*The noble lord, in order to show the good which might be effected by those young ladies about to be married, related an anecdote of a lady who, during the existence of the Anti-Corn-law League, refused to marry her suitor until he became a subscriber to its funds. Of course such an obstacle as that did not stand long in the way, although the gentleman did not approve of the Association. And if the young ladies present would follow a similar course with respect to the Ragged School Union, they would speedily increase its income to a considerable extent.*" We purposely suppress the name of the noble speaker, as it is not otherwise known to the Public; and we are anxious not to give needless pain to private feelings.

† It was our fortune once to hear one of these Judaizers advocate the notion that the "Lost Tribes" are identical with the Saxons, on the ground that *Saxon* is an abridgment of *Isaac's Son*.

provision made for their other ruling passion, the hatred of Papists. For its gratification, the Reformation Society meets in the subscription-rooms. There subtle calculators announce a new solution of the Number of the Beast; there Protestant rhetoricians rekindle the flames of Smithfield in many a gentle bosom; there the dungeons of the Inquisition are once more flung open to the light of day; and there the chaste eloquence of Father Achilli expatiates on the abuses of the confessional, and details with biographical fidelity every abomination of the Scarlet Woman.

The extravagances and buffooneries which too often disfigure these public meetings, are perhaps unavoidable excrescences of a system which is itself a necessary evil. For it is said, and we fear truly, that without these periodical displays, it would be impossible to raise the requisite funds for religious or charitable objects. It is a farther cause of regret that it should be needful to spend so large a part of the income thus contributed in the mere work of collection; and that so little of this service should be the free-will offering of Christian love. In fact, the whole machinery of these societies has become far too much a mere matter of trade. From the following advertisement it would really seem as if they were sometimes *got up* in the same spirit as Railway Companies. "TO RELIGIOUS AND BENEVOLENT SOCIETIES. *A gentleman of high standing in address and knowledge in getting up, conducting, and corresponding with the public in aid of charitable institutions, is desirous of meeting with a confidential engagement, in the above capacity, either in town or country.*" (Record, Oct. 14. 1852.)

No doubt it is inevitable that, when a party grows

powerful in numbers and in wealth, it should attract retainers who join it rather from love of Mammon than from love of God. But this general truth is exemplified in a manner peculiarly painful among the adherents of the Recordite sect. We can scarcely look down a column of the Record without stumbling on the manifesto of some religious speculator, who is bent on turning godliness into gain. Conspicuous among these offenders are the clerical adventurers, some of whose advertisements we have already quoted. Next to these, governesses and tutors furnish the largest proportion of this mercenary class. As a specimen of the former, we may take the lady whose wishes are recorded as follows: "*Wanted, by a middle-aged lady, an active and useful situation in a serious family, where her services would be considered EQUIVALENT TO REMUNERATION. A sanctified taste for literature would be valued, but opportunities of promoting the interests of the kingdom of God would be much preferred.*" This lady must surely be related to the author of the following: "*To GODLY PARENTS. A lady of PRACTICAL PIETY, opposed to Tractarianism, wishes to meet a Godly family desiring to bring up their children in the way they should go. . . . She has FINISHED her pupils without the aid of masters, and is thirty-five years of age.*"* These ladies are rivalled by the young gentleman who thus expresses his ambitious aspirations: "*To CHRISTIAN NOBLEMEN. A young man desires to enter a decidedly pious family as resident tutor. His whole aim will be to train his young charge in heart and life to the Lord. He teaches the Classics.*"† Schoolmistresses are equally eager to at-

* Record, Nov. 25. 1852.

† Ibid. Oct. 11. 1852.

tract the patronage of the party. In the older editions of the late Mrs. Sherwood's religious tales, one was frequently interrupted at the crisis of the narrative by a fly-leaf interpolated between the pages, which contained a glowing description of an "establishment for the education of young ladies" kept by the authoress; reminding one of the Italian Improvisatori, who send round their hat before the catastrophe of their story. More recently, another lady of the same profession has adopted a more original mode of making known her merits, by publishing a treatise upon "Christian Marriage," wherein she describes her mode of instructing her young charge in the art of love. Bookmakers also of every description make their profit out of the simplicity of the religious public, and adopt every advertising device to enhance the value of their wares. One of the most offensive we have seen, is the following puff of a tract called "The Sinner's Friend." The writer, after telling us that "eleven hundred thousand copies" of his book have been already sold, goes on as follows: "*The personal kindness of the deservedly revered Archbishop to the author, far exceeds the power of the most glowing language to express, but may well be understood by those who have tasted its sweetness and encouragement.*"* Another characteristic notice is that which announces the merits of "The Layman's Prayer-book." "*It is altered,*" says the author, "*so slightly from that you now use, as to be perfectly adapted for use in churches by the congregation, while the minister is reading from the present one; yet it is altered sufficiently to avoid unscriptural*

* Record, Dec. 6. 1852. We have omitted a part of this advertisement, which could not be quoted without profaneness. We do not mean to impeach the sincerity of the author of this tract, and hope that the puff may have been inserted by his publisher without his sanction.

tural and unprotestant doctrines. Will you buy my little book, brother? Will you take it with you to church?" Besides these literary advertisers, we find that ladies' maids, female companions, confidential clerks, coachmen, and butlers, may be had in any number, of the prescribed opinions. And in a recent number of the Record we discovered a demand (no doubt soon followed by a supply) for "*A good plain cook, of evangelical sentiments.*"*

It would, however, be most unjust (as we have before admitted) to take these advertisers in the Record as a fair sample of the Recordites. That party contains as large a proportion of sincere members as any other. And although we think the harm it does collectively exceeds the good effected by its adherents individually, yet we must not deny that it has accomplished some useful tasks, which could not have so well been achieved by any other party. Every one now acknowledges the success of its emissaries in Ireland; and so much could scarcely have been effected against the ultra-montanism of Cullen and M'Hale, except by intolerance and dogmatism as peremptory as their own. Nor is it only in Ireland that we may see moral triumphs achieved by the Puritanic divinity. There are probably some minds so constituted, as to be incapable of receiving the truths of Christianity, except under the Calvinistic form. And these seem to be principally found in a class where Christianity is much needed, the middle rank of society in trading and manufacturing communities. Many a worker in the gold diggings of Lancashire and Yorkshire, who might otherwise have remained a selfish worshipper of Mammon all his days, has been roused by

* Record, Oct. 19. 1852.

Puritanic preachers to the consciousness of a spiritual destiny. Such converts may be often seen devoting the hours of their well-earned Sunday, not to a calculation of the profits of the coming week, nor to idle relaxation from the toils of the past, but to the labours of the Sunday School or the District Visitor, in lanes reeking with the stench of sewers, and cellars pestilent with fever. Men like these, let their opinions be as narrow as they may, are the salt of this world, and the earnest of a better.

But the merits of individuals must not blind us to the mischief wrought by their party. This mischief consists, not in their success, but in their failure. The injury is done, not to those whom they convert, but to those whom they repel. If, indeed, they could succeed in proselytising the people, they would do far more good than harm: because, though some of their opinions verge upon Antinomianism, they seldom practically lead to immorality; and religion, once admitted into the heart, will expel all demons thence. But, unhappily, though the Puritan theology is attractive to a few, it is repulsive to the multitude. By most minds it is rejected at once, with an instinctive repugnance. And yet this theology is, by the lower ranks of society in our great towns, very generally identified with Christianity itself, which has been too often presented to them in no other shape, either in the Meeting-house or the Church.* To this circumstance may be attributed much of the infidelity now so general among the best

* It must be remembered that, in the great towns, a large majority of the Churches, and all the Dissenting Chapels, are supported on the voluntary principle, *i. e.* by pew rents. They are therefore dependent on the religious portion of the shopkeepers who take the pews. But the shopkeepers as a class, if religious at all, are puritanically inclined. This accounts for the fact mentioned in the text.

instructed portion of the labouring classes. It is a melancholy fact that the men who make our steam-engines and railway carriages, our presses and telegraphs, the furniture of our houses and the clothing of our persons, have now in a fearful proportion renounced all faith in Christianity. They regard the Scripture as a forgery, and religion as priestcraft, and are living without God in the world. The revelations of the late census have shown that in England alone there are more than five millions of persons who absent themselves entirely from religious worship.* This state of things, sapping as it does the very sinews of our national life, cannot be wholly laid to the charge of any one party. All are in some measure accountable for it, in so far as all have fallen short of that perfect standard of Christian goodness, the sight of which is the only effectual instrument of conversion. But we do not hesitate to say that the party most directly guilty of driving half-educated men into Atheism, is that which has pushed Evangelical opinions into Recordite extravagance.†

These exaggerations of Protestant doctrine could not fail to produce a reaction in the opposite direction. As in the seventeenth century the intolerant Calvinism of the Synod of Dort promoted the triumph of Arminian theology in England, so in our own times a disgust at the vagaries of the second-rate copyists of Puritanism caused that rapid growth of High Church opinions, which dis-

* Census, 1851, Religious Worship, p. 88.

† The two other chief causes of this infidelity are, *first*, the hateful distinction made by our pew system between rich and poor; and, *secondly*, the practice of dragging Sunday Schools to church at an age when they cannot possibly understand a word of the Service. What ought to be done with Sunday Scholars during service-time is another question; and could only be properly answered by the restoration of the order of Deacons.

tinguished the second quarter of the present century. It is often said, indeed, that the High Church party was predominant during the greater part of the preceding century, and continued powerful till the close of what we may call the *Eldonite* period. But this is a mere confusion, caused by similarity of names, between parties utterly dissimilar. The "Church and King men," who flourished thirty, fifty, or seventy years ago, were a political, and not a religious party. They sometimes talked of Orthodoxy, at Visitation Dinners or University Elections; but they meant by Orthodoxy not any theological creed, but love of tithes and hatred of Methodists. They had no affinity with modern High Churchmen, except the dislike of Protestant Dissenters. The true High Church theology represents the dominant school of the Caroline epoch; a school which, though too often identified with despotic bigots like Laud, yet produced many illustrious writers and many eminent saints. This party died out at the beginning of the last century, after its exaggerated phase (with which we have recently been again familiarised) had developed itself in the Non-jurors. From this extreme form, however, it must be distinguished by every candid historian. The Anglican, though it may be pushed into the Romanistic creed, is not identical therewith. It was revived in a systematic form twenty years ago, by an able knot of writers, the principal of whom solemnly pledged themselves to one another*, to use every means of reviving a belief in the doctrines of Anglicanism, and originated for that purpose the "Tracts for the Times." It is true that these writers very rapidly developed the opinions from which

* See the account of this compact (which was made in 1833) given by Mr Percival, himself one of the parties to it, in his well-known "Letter to the Irish Ecclesiastical Journal."

they started into actual Romanism. But the earlier Tracts contain a *bonâ fide* attempt to base the creed of the Church upon strictly Anglican tradition. Mr. Newman has fully explained the way in which he and his ablest followers were led on, step by step, from this original standing point to higher ground. Nor would we deny that, according to the rules of strict logic, this progress was inevitable. But logical results from one principle are often modified by conclusions no less logical from another. And it is historically certain that many intellects, and those of no contemptible power, are capable of acquiescing in that system of belief which was maintained by Bull and Pearson, though to other minds its premises seem necessarily to involve the conclusions of Rome.

The characteristic tenets of this party are supplemental rather than contradictory to those of their predecessors. The Anglican accepts the doctrine that "*we are justified by faith,*" but gives equal prominence to the additional truth that, "*we are judged by works.*" He acknowledges that men must be converted by grace, but maintains that Christians are regenerated by baptism. He assents to the sole supremacy of Scripture, but adds, that "*the Church hath authority in controversies of faith.*"* And this authoritative Church he distinguishes from all pretenders by its apostolic descent. Thus, the watchwords of the School are "*Judgment by works,*" "*Baptismal Regeneration,*" "*Church Authority,*" and "*Apostolical Succession.*"

As to the first head, there is no real difference between the moderate Anglican and the moderate Evangelical. Both agree that the works of man cannot earn reward from God; both agree that without sanctification

* Article 20th.

there can be no salvation. But perhaps the Evangelical party had laid too much stress on the beginning of the religious life, and had trusted to the spontaneous action of that first spiritual impulse for producing all requisite growth in holiness.* The Anglicans saw this mistake, and have corrected it by a teaching more systematically practical.

The second tenet, that of Baptismal Regeneration, is more distinctive. The Recordites, as we have seen, practically heathenise Christendom, by denying the Christian name to all except that narrow circle whom they designate as the elect. The Anglicans meet this uncharitable dogma with the assertion that all Christians, as such, are in a condition spiritually different from that of the heathen. They teach that all the members of the Visible Church are the elect of God; and that all baptized persons are members of the Visible Church, and as such are endowed with all gifts and graces necessary to salvation. Even here, though the difference may appear considerable between the High Church and Evangelical phraseology, it is really a difference rather in terms than in meaning. For the moderate Low Churchman allows that those who are baptized into the Christian Church are admitted to a share in spiritual blessings; and the Anglican acknowledges that, if the regenerated infant grows up a sinful man, he needs conversion before he can enjoy the blessings to which he has been called.

* One of the best and ablest of the modern Evangelical Clergy has recently admitted this. Speaking of the preachers of his party, he says: "The Gospel, they say, is made up of a few cardinal truths, which cannot be too often repeated. . . . With so much time spent in laying the foundation again and again, little is left for informing and guiding men's consciences as to the thousand details of active life." (*Rev. H. Gurney's Sermon on Duke of Wellington*, preface, p. 4.)

The addition of the authority of the Church to that of Scripture seems, at first sight, the most serious difference of the three. Yet such authority is undoubtedly claimed by the Articles, and may be narrowed within limits strictly Protestant. Nor can it be denied that a reasonable man, in the formation of his opinions, would give great weight to the collective judgment of other Christians. Yet, on the other hand, this principle has an alarming power of expression. The Anglican divines have been led to cherish it partly because they felt the evils of perpetual doubt and presumptuous questioning; partly because they sought for some authoritative guidance to check the follies of weak brethren*; but chiefly because they loved those moral qualities which are closely linked to obedience and submission. But their teaching on this head is beset by great difficulties. "We acknowledge," say their opponents, "the authority of the true Church; but for what Church do you claim this power, and where shall we find her teaching?" The Anglican replies, that the Church is that of England, and her teaching is to be found in her Liturgy and Articles. But these formularies admit of diverse interpretations, and need a living voice to decide between conflicting interpreters. "Where then," says the inquirer, "shall I seek this living voice, which may solve my doubts?" To this it is replied that the accents of the Church are to be heard from the lips of her bishops, and that her presbyters ordained by those bishops are her living oracles to each individual layman in every separate parish. But when asked whether

* About the time of the first appearance of the "Tracts" half the religious world was going mad after the Irvingites (who spoke in unknown tongues), the Rowites (who worked miracles), and the Plymouth Brethren (who advocated a community of goods).

the laity under the charge of Mr. Gorham are to believe a different creed from those under Dr. Pusey, the Anglican is perplexed for an answer ; and still more so when he is reminded that the collective voice of the bishops is silent, and that individual bishops differ as much as their presbyters.

But again the inquirer demands satisfaction on a farther point. "How am I to know," he says, "that the English establishment is that true Church which can alone claim authority to teach and guide?" The Anglican theology replies that the true Church possesses unity as well as visibility. Truth is one ; therefore, the true Church is one. And this one Church has a note whereby she may be known. In each country she is that body of orthodox Christians which is governed by bishops possessing the Apostolic Succession. Hence the Dissenter, who secedes from his parish church, is forsaking the communion of the Apostles. But here again the High Churchman is embarrassed by his Roman antagonist. For a rival Church exists in England, also governed by bishops to whom the Apostolic consecration has been lineally transmitted from the very source whence the Anglican bishops derive their own orders. And that Church declares the Anglican doctrine not orthodox but heretical, and her bishops not successors of the Apostles but schismatical usurpers. How are the laity of the Metropolis to decide whether their allegiance be due to the Bishop of London or the "Archbishop of Westminster"? Their decision can scarcely be determined in favour of the former by the criterion of Unity, Ecclesiastical Authority, or Apostolical Succession.

Thus these hierarchical claims of Anglicanism are dangerous weapons ; serviceable artillery, perhaps,

against the sectarian, but liable to recoil in the discharge. They do not, however, hold a prominent place in the teaching of moderate High Churchmen. They are not the basis of their system, but only secondary and ornamental details. Even against Dissenters they are not rigidly enforced. The hereditary non-conformist is not excluded from salvation. Foreign Protestants are even owned as brethren, though a mild regret is expressed that they lack the blessing of an authorised Church government. Apostolical succession is not practically made essential to the being of a Church, but rather cherished as a dignified and ancient pedigree, connecting our English episcopate with primitive antiquity, and binding the present to the past by a chain of filial piety. In the same hands, Church authority is reduced to little more than a claim to that deference which is due from the ignorant to the learned, from the taught to the teacher. Meanwhile the maintainers of these views are useful, not only as a counterpoise to the extravagance of the Recordites, but for much positive good achieved by themselves. And considered as a whole, they form a party which the Church could ill afford to spare.

In the first place, their system gives freer scope to the feelings of reverence, awe, and beauty, than that of their opponents. They endeavour, and often successfully, to enlist these feelings in the service of piety. Music, painting, and architecture they consecrate as the handmaids of religion. Thus they attract an order of men found chiefly among the most cultivated classes, whose hearts must be reached through their imagination rather than their understanding. It is surely well that such provision has been made for those whose taste (perhaps over refined) has been shocked by the flippant

familiarity of superficial religionists. But the influence of these Anglican divines is not confined to the fastidious few. They have given a greater reality to the religion of all ranks, by their energetic protest against the hollowness and insincerity of popular pietism. The Recordite party, as we have seen, had substituted (as their criterion of conversion) a verbal profession of faith for a life of holiness. Too often a "professor of religion" was led to think that by the pronouncement of an easy Shibboleth, coupled with an abstinence from balls and theatres, he atoned for a life of covetousness and self-indulgence. The old Evangelical body, it is true, always discountenanced such self-deceit. But the Anglican School has checked it more successfully by the prominence which they give to the duties of daily life and the formation of habits. Moreover, their exhortations cannot be turned aside by excuses which often parry the home-thrusts of other preachers—"We are waiting for the time of our conversion"—"We hope to receive our effectual calling in due season."—To such pleas their reply is ready and consistent: "You have already received the needful help. You have the power to pray and act. You are now the elect of God; make your election sure, lest you be cast away." Such addresses administer no palliative to the conscience, and encourage no indolent hope of a compulsory reformation.

In the same spirit, the writers of this party have contributed to the religious literature of the day many admirable works which under the guise of fiction teach the purest Christianity, and exemplify its bearing on every detail of common life. To the training of childhood especially they have rendered most valuable aid, by thus embodying the precepts of the Gospel. But we

need not do more than allude to works so universally known and valued as those of Miss Sewell, Mr. Adams, and Bishop Wilberforce.*

Again, the revival of the High Church party has effected an important improvement among the clergy. Many of these were prejudiced by hereditary dislike against the doctrines and the persons of the Evangelicals, and by this prejudice were repelled from religion. But under the name of orthodoxy and the banner of High Church, they have willingly received truth against which, had it come to them in another shape, they would have closed their ears and hearts. A better spirit has thus been breathed into hundreds who but for this new movement would have remained, as their fathers were before them, mere Nimrods, Ramrods, or Fishing-rods.

We cannot trace to the party of which we are now speaking, such great measures of public morality as are due to the school of Wilberforce and Buxton. But this is no reproach to them; for they did not exist as a distinct party till those national reforms were accomplished. They have, however, originated two public movements of much importance in our own time; that for the establishment of Protestant Sisterhoods of Mercy, and that for the general creation of Colonial Bishopsrics.†

* The Evangelical party has also pursued the line of religious fiction, but generally with less success. Mrs. Sherwood, it is true, had great power of narrative, but her love of the pomps and vanities of the world too often overpowered her sense of religion. One recent Evangelical work of this kind, however, we may notice, as possessing great merit, — “The Daughter at Home,” by an anonymous author. As a picture of the power of religion in gradually subduing the asperities of a gloomy disposition and morbid temper, this story is unequalled.

† It is true that the first example of this in the present century was given by the Evangelical party; the foundation of the Bishopric of Calcutta in 1814 having been entirely due to the exertions of Wilberforce. But no general effort was made in the same cause, till the establishment of the “Colonial Bishopric Fund.”

Some discredit has been thrown upon the former of these objects, by the indiscretion of its more conspicuous promoters. Yet even in the midst of this indiscretion, there has been much to admire, in the self-devotion of body and soul to the relief of misery. And the original sisterhood, instituted under the superintendence of the Bishop of London, to train nurses for the hospitals, has, we believe, furnished no such occasion of stumbling. The movement for establishing Bishoprics in the Colonies has attracted greater public attention, and has met with more unqualified success. In the last thirteen years, fifteen new Bishoprics have been founded, and the complete organisation of the Church transferred to as many nascent empires. We need not say that our satisfaction at this result springs not from our attributing any miraculous powers to the episcopal office. We value it not as the source of thaumaturgic influence, but as an instrument of good government; not for its magical, but for its moral energy. The superintendence of any central authority can do much by combining and harmonising the isolated efforts of individuals; the superintendence of a zealous and intelligent man can do more. Nor does he only render more efficient the labours of those amongst whom he comes to preside; his presence attracts more labourers into the vineyard. Those who would have shrunk from the isolation of independent action, now gladly go to work under a chief pastor on whose wisdom they rely, and on whose affectionate sympathy and encouragement they depend. That this is no mere theory is proved by the fact that in thirteen years the number of clergy in those fifteen new episcopates had increased from 274 to 503. In connexion with these efforts for the benefit of the Colonies we should also notice the great impulse given

by the High Church party, during the last twenty years, to the Society "for the Propagation of the Gospel," and also the foundation of St. Augustine's College at Canterbury, for training Colonial Missionaries.

But, as we have already said, the public measures promoted by an ecclesiastical party are a less certain test of its merits than that afforded by the conduct of its private members, and the efficiency of their parochial ministrations. From this criterion the Anglican party has no need to shrink. The moderate High Churchman (supposing him, of course, to be in earnest) is peculiarly fitted for the management of a country parish. With the aristocratic classes his view of Christianity is usually more acceptable than any other; and his heartiness and old English feeling, his love of festivals and holidays, and his active benevolence, render him popular among the poor. With the middle class, the shopkeepers and artisans, he is usually less successful. They are not as yet sufficiently cultivated to be susceptible of the artistic and imaginative influences which attract the higher ranks, and they are filled with a jealous and not unnatural suspicion of everything in which they fancy a Romeward tendency. Hence the Anglican clergyman should, for his own comfort, and for the good of those under his charge, be placed rather in the country than in the town*; because, in the former, his parishioners consist almost exclusively either of the rich or poor, while the middling class is dominant in the boroughs. Such a clergyman as we have described will not differ from his Evangelical neighbours in any material point of doctrine. Had he lived fifty years ago, his sermons would have stamped him as a "Methodist" or a "Calvinist," among the fox-hunting

* Leeds is an exception to this rule; but it is, so far as we know, the only exception.

parsons who used these terms synonymously, and applied them to every man who was an earnest believer in Christianity. Nor are his ordinary parochial labours distinguished from those of his Low Church brethren. He and they are equally to be found in the cottages of the poor, comforting the afflicted, reading to the sick, and praying with the dying. He adopts the same plans of usefulness which have been originated by his Evangelical predecessors. Like them he encourages the zeal for missionary exertion, though perhaps he may be prejudiced against the "Church Missionary Society," and the Committee which he establishes may collect funds for its elder sister of "the Propagation." He vies with his neighbours in zeal for the education of the poor; pays daily visits to his school; turns the "*apprenticed teachers*" into his private pupils; and works hard in preparing the master and mistress for the annual visit of Her Majesty's Inspector.

Within the walls of the church the distinction of parties is perhaps more marked than in the school-room or the cottage; though even here it is becoming gradually obliterated, by the adoption among the best men in every party of the reforms originating with either side. The first difference which strikes us, regards the Sacrament of Baptism. In its administration the Anglicans have revived the practice (alike Rubrical and reasonable) of celebrating it in the public service. The infant member is adopted into the Christian family with the sympathising prayers of his assembled brethren. The external appliances of the rite are made to correspond with its dignity and beauty. The mean basin of crockery is discarded, and the ancient font of stone restored, and filled to the brim with clear water, the consecrated type of purity and innocence. Nor is it (for the sake of a

needless symbolism) pushed into the porch, where it must be invisible to the congregation, but placed in a conspicuous and central spot, where the service can be witnessed by every eye, and heard by every ear. The same sense of artistic fitness which dictates these changes, prompts also to other restorations. The parish priest has generally inherited from the past a church beautiful in its original structure, but defaced by the tasteless innovations of recent barbarism. The "high embowed roof" no longer retains its original pitch; the windows have lost not only their stained glass, but even their tracery; the pillars are cut away to make room for hideous monuments; and the stone is buried under a hundred coats of whitewash. He hastens, so far as he can obtain the means, to restore the sacred edifice to its pristine beauty. The mouldings emerge into light; the whitewash disappears; the storied windows once more fling a chequered colouring over the walls; the crosses rise again from their broken shafts, over a lofty roof. But, when all this is done, the worst abomination remains behind. The area of nave, choir, and aisles is choked up with high square pews only half occupied, where the richer parishioners recline in solitary state, while the poor are too often left to stand in the gangways. This, perhaps the most odious practical abuse introduced into the Church during the last two centuries, the Anglican party has the credit of successfully combating. "Equality within the House of God," has been from the first their motto and their practice. Nor is it an easy task which they have undertaken. The fat farmer, who for fifty years has snored unseen beneath the shelter of his wooden walls, is frantic at the idea that he should be exposed to the vulgar gaze. The young rustic, who has carried on a comfortable flirtation

in the corner of the adjacent penfold, regards the curtailment of its lofty proportions as treason against the privileges of love. The selfishness of ownership, the dignity of property, are roused to the combat, and fight energetically against the invasion of their rights. Moreover, the clergyman cannot legally make any alterations at all, without the consent of his churchwardens, who are often the most pigheaded opponents of his reforms. This consent once obtained, he must hasten on the work, lest they should change their mind; nor let him hope for any rate from his vestry to aid him in the execution. If at length he has succeeded in replacing the old boxes by decent seats, there remains the invidious task of assigning to each householder his due share of room. No one must be too far from the pulpit, no one too near the door; to put a man behind a pillar is to create a mortal enemy. The clergyman who succeeds in triumphing over all these difficulties, without making himself the most unpopular man in his parish, must possess a rare union of tact and courage.* Yet that many such clergymen exist in the Anglican party, is evident from the number of old churches which we see freed from the nuisance of pews, and filled by contented parishioners. It must be acknowledged, however, that every such improvement renders all similar changes in its neighbourhood comparatively easy. The

* A friend of ours lately visited a parish where this kind of reformation was proceeding amidst a storm of opposition. One farmer was especially furious at the removal of a hideous gallery, which for the last fifty years had blocked up a beautiful window. He declaimed indignantly against the Parson's tyranny. "I have heard of them tyrants of Antikkity," said he, "who burnt people because they wouldn't agree with their notions. And our Parson is just as bad—burning our gallery." Another said, "It was all Popery.—Weren't them new-fangled narrow pews what they used to call *Monks' cells*?"

advantage of the reformed arrangement is so manifest, that in a short time it is generally acknowledged. The restored church is cited as a model; strangers come to see it; the natives grow proud of it; their neighbours become emulous, and at last allow the example to be imitated with little opposition.

The removal of this and other barbarous innovations may be considered to belong to that work which has fallen peculiarly to the Anglican clergy—the restoration of ancient churches. But the same party has shown equal taste and activity in the building of new ones. To the noble edifices bequeathed us by the Middle Ages, they have added others not unworthy of their prototypes.

But, above all, their revival of Church Music deserves honourable mention. Till their epoch, the psalmody of a village church was truly a disgraceful exhibition. A choir, consisting frequently of the most drunken reprobates in the parish, bawled out the "*Hanthem*," which they sang in *parts*, that is, in a complicated kind of discord. No other music varied the service, except the singing of a metrical psalm, from which the poetry had been previously extracted by Tate and Brady. The instrumental accompaniment of the performance was the squeaking of a cracked flageolet, and the growling of a base viol. All this is now on the road to amendment. Music is taking its proper place in the public worship. The wretched metrical version of the psalms is superseded by hymns uniting poetry with devotion; and at the same time the more ancient melodies of the Church are restored to their due prominence. It is a vulgar error that the chanting of the psalms, and the appropriate singing of the other musical parts of the service, is a difficult feat of art. On the contrary, the

best chants are the simplest kind of music known, consisting of a very few notes perpetually reiterated. A congregation can far more easily learn to join in this kind of psalmody than in ordinary hymn tunes, which are much more complex. We know village churches where the whole congregation join in the strains of Farrant and Tallis, and the Gregorian tones. And it is found that when the people are thus trained to take an intelligent part in the musical portion of the liturgy, they will not leave their responses in the prayers to the listless articulation of the Clerk.

Such are some of the services lately rendered to the Church by the Anglican party. Its modern hagiology is of course less copious than that of the Evangelicals, inasmuch as its existence as a resuscitated party has been much shorter. Yet we need not doubt that it will again produce saintly men, as in the times of old. For its creed is the same which nourished the piety of the best Churchman and the best Churchwoman of the seventeenth century; her whose gentle virtues shone amid the pollution of the most corrupt of courts, with the lustre of a pearl upon a dunghill;—and him who is pronounced by an historian not likely to be partial, to have “approached as near as human infirmity permits, to the ideal perfection of Christian virtue.”* Nor are there wanting living representatives of the practice, as well as the profession, of these ancient worthies. Bishop Selwyn is not undeserving of a place in the same category with Bishop Perry. And among the lay adherents of the Anglican creed are men who might be cited as examples of the purest type of English character, and women worthy to belong to the same sex and country with Margaret Godolphin.

* Macaulay, *Hist. i.* p. 637.

Notwithstanding the merits of this party we have seen that its teaching involves, in some degree, the vague assertion of two principles — Apostolical Succession, and Church Authority. These may, it is true, be made to mean but little; and, veiled in a graceful mist of words, they may become an ornamental and dignified appendage to a system essentially Protestant. But they may also be made the basis instead of the superstructure, and a fabric may be built upon them at which the Anglican stands aghast. In this latter method they were dealt with by those bold essayists who revived, twenty years ago, the theology of Laud. Their earlier and more moderate statements of doctrine found ready acceptance among the clergy, and they speedily were at the head of a large body of adherents. But they pressed recklessly to the front, and soon left the mass of their troops behind them. Yet still they hurried on towards the goal of their logical career, and abandoned, one by one, the traditions of the Anglican divinity from which they started. Meanwhile, after they had advanced beyond the High Church camp, they continued for nearly ten years members of the Church of England, and formed a new party, which took from their writings the name of Tractarian. The doctrines of this party are regarded by themselves as necessary developments of the Anglican principles. The foundation of their system is Apostolical Succession, which they hold essential to the being of a true Church. The Bishop duly consecrated is by virtue of this succession the representative of the Apostles. The Presbyters on whom he lays his hands, are thereby endowed with supernatural powers, which enable them to change the Eucharistic elements into the body of Christ. They are also a mediatorial Priesthood, ordained to offer prayers and “unbloody sacrifices” for

the people. By their hands, moreover, the Church exercises “a power which places it almost on a level with God himself — the power of forgiving sins by wiping them out in baptism — of transferring souls from Hell to Heaven.”* The efficacy of both Sacraments depends solely on the *opus operatum* of their external acts. Hence these writers deplore the imperfection of the Anglican Communion Service as “a judgment upon the Church †,” because it ascribes no miraculous power to the words of consecration. Again, in the Baptismal Service, the Church requires a profession of faith to be made in the infant’s name, before it is baptized, or (if it has been previously baptized in *articulo mortis*) before it can be received into the Church; thereby testifying that the blessings bestowed are conditional on moral qualifications. Whereas our Romanising divines teach that the baptismal rite, even if performed in jest, would so change the nature of the child that its post-baptismal sins would be excluded from the benefit of the Atonement. Thus Christianity becomes a system of magical forms and incantations, tending to the exaltation of the sacerdotal office. Indeed, this object is distinctly confessed, by a champion of the party, with unusual candour, as follows: “Until the people shall think thus of these mysteries, they will not think of *us* as it is far more for their benefit than ours that they should always think.” ‡

We are called upon to believe these doctrines upon the infallible authority of the Church. But if we ask where this authority resides, and who is empowered to embody this infallibility, these teachers are more sorely puzzled for an answer than even their Anglican predecessors. And in their attempts to reach a firmer ground,

* Sewell’s Christian Morals, p. 247.

† Tract 90, p. 4.

‡ Charge of the Bishop of Exeter, 1842.

notwithstanding all their struggles against the force of logic, they are borne down by an irresistible current to the chair of Peter. The foremost of them soon perceived the goal whither they were tending, and at first got over their difficulties by declaring that they acknowledged the authority of the Roman See, and held all Roman doctrine*, and that they could reconcile the English Articles to their Papal creed, by interpreting them in a "non-natural sense." They openly abjured the name of Protestant; they allowed that, if cut off from the Roman Communion the Church of England must be schismatical; but they maintained that the two Churches were not really separated, and that their mutual excommunication was the result of a misunderstanding which time would clear up. This view, however, was too contrary to common sense to be long defended, even by its inventors. They soon acknowledged their error; and their leader, renouncing for ever the Anglican allegiance, passed over the Rubicon, and rushed into the heart of the Italian territory. But not all who advanced to that fatal frontier had courage to cross with Cæsar; the rabble of his army remained shivering on the brink. And now they are taunted by the indignant sarcasms of their former captain, as he adjures them by every principle they hold sacred to come over and help him. He proves that their present position is untenable. He proves that, while professing to repudiate all private judgment, they are in fact standing on the point of the loneliest pinnacle which private judgment ever reared.† He overwhelms them

* These were the published words of Mr. Ward and Mr. Oakely, some time before they left the Church of England.

† See the Oratorian Lectures of Father Newman, on *Anglican difficulties*, delivered in London in 1850.

with those arguments which proved irresistible to himself; the arguments which forced him to renounce the dreams of ambition and the reality of power, which tore him from his Oxford home and his devoted friends, and drove him into exile among strange scenes and uncongenial men. But he reasons and he appeals in vain. Those on whom he calls have stopped their ears against the voice of the charmer. Their only answer is, "Here we are, and here we will remain."*

Yet we must not hastily accuse all these waverers of dishonesty. Some of them, there cannot be a doubt, are men who would sacrifice, not their preferment only, but their lives, in the cause of duty. But they feel that, although the logical consequences of their principles thrust them forward, yet there are moral and religious difficulties which raise insuperable obstacles in the path. There are points in the doctrine and practice of the Church of Rome which seem to them irreconcilable with Christian truth. If, only, they could get over these stumbling-blocks, gladly would they follow their captain's steps. But till then they remain where Providence has placed them: halting between two opinions as to their own position; and still hoping, almost against hope, that the Church of England may be a true branch of the Church Catholic. These are the best of the Tractarian party; but they are very few. The common run, even of their leaders, are usually third-rate Academics, misty and muddle-headed, who with intense labour have attained a Second Class Degree, and afterwards perhaps

* It must be remembered, that we are speaking of those who still adhered to the Tractarian opinions after Mr. Newman's secession. But many of his followers, frightened by his desertion, fled back in the opposite direction, and intrenched themselves in the Anglican fortresses which they had abandoned. These are now distinguished among the Anglican party by the bitterness of their hostility to the Church of Rome.

have published some unsaleable lucubrations on logic, or some incomprehensible tractate on transubstantiation. The rank and file are young and silly partisans, who have joined their standard more for the sake of amusement and notoriety than for any other reason. They are guiltless of insincerity, in not pushing strong opinions to extreme consequences ; for, in fact, they have never formed any opinions at all. They have but learnt by rote a set of phrases for which they shout. If guilty of dishonesty at all, it is only in pretending to decide on theological questions, while conscious that they are destitute of the simplest rudiments of theological knowledge.

The manner of such a pretender is highly characteristic. It is marked by supercilious silliness and fatuous conceit, assumed to hide the depths of his ignorance. It is sometimes difficult to maintain one's gravity, when one hears such a neophyte affecting the tone of a *Doctor Seraphicus*, and volubly pouring forth theological polysyllables which he would be sorely puzzled to render into English. One is tempted to remind him how few years have passed since he was nearly plucked for his degree, and to ask how long it is since he has acquired the power of construing the Greek Testament, wherein he was then so woefully deficient.

To describe the costume, the phraseology, and the ritual of this party would be a waste of time. Their peculiarities have been made familiar to all, by the pen and the pencil of innumerable satirists. Who does not recognise, when he meets them in the railway or the street, the clipped shirt-collar, the stiff and tie-less neck-cloth, the M. B.* coat and cassock waistcoat, the cropped

* Every one knows how this name was accidentally disclosed to a Tractarian customer by a tailor's orders to his foreman ; and how the artist was forced reluctantly to confess that it was an abbreviation for "*Mark of the Beast*."

hair and un-whiskered cheek? Who does not know that the wearer of this costume will talk of "the Holy Altar," and "the blessed Virgin," of "Saint Ignatius Loyola," and "Saint Alphonso de Liguori?" And that he will date his letters on "the eve of St. Chad," or "the Morrow of Saint Martin?"* Who has not seen the youthful Presbyter bowing to the altar, and turning his back on the people? Who has not heard him intoning the prayers, and preaching in his surplice on the "holy obedience" due from laity to priesthood? Who is ignorant that he reads the offertory after his sermon, and sends round little bags at the end of long poles, which are thrust in the faces of the worshippers to extort their contributions? Who has not noticed the gaudy furniture of his church, the tippeted altar, the candles blazing at noon-day, the wreaths of flowers changing their colour with feast or fast, the mediæval emblems embroidered on the altar-cloth? After all, these are but harmless fopperies, only mischievous if they stir up the wrath of the people. But the Tractarian mode of celebrating the Communion deserves graver censure. In the first place, continual bowings and genuflexions are introduced, without the authority either of Rubric or custom. Secondly, the elements are placed, before consecration, upon a peculiar piece of furniture, a side-board called a *prothesis* or *credence table*, although the use of this has been adjudged by the highest Ecclesias-

* Some of the party have even rebaptised the days of the week, as appears from the following advertisement in the "English Churchman." "WHAT IS THE GOSPEL? NOT PROTESTANTISM, BUT THE PRAYER-BOOK. *This work will be brought out regularly at F. Gilmour's, High Street, Sarum, every Ascension Day (heathenishly called Thursday), and will be in the hands of the London and Oxford Booksellers every Passion Day, dedicated idolatrously by all Protestants to the Heathen Goddess Friga.*"

tical Court to be positively illegal.* Thirdly, in the reception of the consecrated bread, a novel usage is adopted, which has excited scandal, and even caused disturbance, in the administration of the eucharist.

Still more perilous to the peace of the Church is the attempt recently made by some Tractarian clergy to innovate upon the burial service. Under pretence of a rigid adherence to the Rubric, they have insisted on pausing in their office, after the coffin is lowered, till the whole grave is filled up. Meantime the mourning relatives (including, perhaps, sickly women) are compelled to stand shivering in the rain or snow; while the solemn impressions made by the majestic pathos of the service are effaced by anger, and tears of grief changed into tears of rage. The disregard thus shown for human sorrow makes this an instance of heartless folly, almost inconceivable in our tender-hearted age. Yet the refusal of the same party to bury those who have been baptized by Dissenters shows a similar triumph of bigotry over compassion. There might be some excuse for this, if one could believe that it arose from a conscientious obedience to the Rubric. But that is impossible; for the very men who affect this scrupulosity are themselves daily violators of the most precise directions of the Rubric. If there be one Rubrical enactment more important than another, it is that which prescribes the *daily* celebration of Morning and Evening Prayer in every Church. Yet this is not

* See the Judgment of Sir H. J. Fust on the Stone Altar case. The contempt shown by the Tractarians for this judgment is the more remarkable, because they profess such reverence for the same judge's decision on the Gorham case. The number of churches now possessing *credence tables* is considerable enough to make the manufacture of *credence cloths* a regular branch of trade, as appears from the advertisements in the "Guardian." See "Guardian," Feb. 9. 1853.

obeyed by one Tractarian out of twenty. We entirely sympathise with the answer given by a well-known Bishop to a Romanising clergyman, who wished for permission to preach in his surplice, and pleaded that his conscience, bound as it was to Rubricality, forbade his officiating in his gown. "Of course, then," said the Prelate, "as you are so scrupulous in your obedience, you celebrate Morning and Evening Service daily?" The clergyman confessed that he did not; it would encroach upon his other duties, and so forth. "Then I really think, sir," replied the diocesan, "that in future the less you say of your Rubrical conscience the better."

This inconsistency is felt by some who yet are unwilling to impose upon themselves the burden entailed by their principles. They wish to have daily service, but do not wish to perform it. We find an advertisement from one such Incumbent who appeals to the public to help him in raising "*a fund to maintain the services of a Curate to perform daily service;*" and tells us that he would gratefully accept aid from "*any pious Christian who feels disposed to assist in such a work.*"* The following exhibits a similar mode of dealing with such embarrassments:—"The Incumbent and Deacon of a poor district on the S. W. coast, who are endeavouring to bear witness to the truth of Catholic principles, amid opposition of the most decided character from those by whom they are surrounded, venture to hope that some CATHOLIC PRIEST, blessed with independent means, will come and help them for a few years, in their attempt to set the Church fully and fairly before the people. MONEY IS URGENTLY NEEDED for the expense of the Choir, &c."†

The Tractarian, whose conscience allows him to dis-

* Guardian, Sept. 8. 1852.

† Ibid. Nov. 24. 1852.

pense with daily service, is not much troubled with his spiritual duties during the week. He sets his face against most modern plans of parochial benevolence as Protestant inventions. He seldom patronises the secular education of the people; it would be a very Erastian step to put his school under Government inspection; which is (generally speaking) the only way to make it efficient. He doubts the propriety of pastoral visits to his poor parishioners, unless they are sick; because the Church has appointed no special office for that purpose. He is willing, however, to attend a death-bed when summoned; and he sometimes gives special dignity to such an errand, by marching through the village in his surplice. Moreover, he has perhaps a few female penitents, who come to him occasionally for auricular confession. But these employments do not take much of his time. His principal energies are devoted to the task of opposing "Puritanism." And as a practical protest against error is always the most effectual, the junior members of the party display their repugnance to Puritanic heresy by attendance at balls and races. In fact, the frequentation of these amusements seems as essential a part of the one creed as their renunciation is of the other.

But ball-going and race-frequenting, though the most effectual, are not the only modes in which the Tractarian clergy combat heterodoxy. They also amuse themselves with a chronic agitation, which has for its object the safety of the Church. The quintessence of this agitating spirit is concentrated in the "Church Unions." These are clerical associations (including sometimes a few laymen), which meet together at intervals, usually once a month, to make speeches and pass resolutions concerning things in general, and their own neighbourhoods in particular. Besides these periodical debates,

there are other occasional opportunities for indulging in the luxury of ecclesiastical warfare. We have lately seen the obsolete form of choosing Proctors for Convocation galvanised into unexpected life, to give such partisans the excitement of an electioneering intrigue. Then there is sometimes a petition to be got up against Government education ; sometimes a protest to be circulated against the Judicial Committee ; sometimes a *mandamus* to be sued out, forbidding the consecration of an heterodox Prelate ; and, if nothing else be stirring, an address against that great fautor of heresy, the Archbishop of Canterbury, will fill up the vacant time.

The noise made by all this astonishes those who know how few are the makers of it. Provincial newspapers are always ready to print the proceedings of any local meeting, without too close a scrutiny into the attendance. There are also several London journals willing to fill their columns with accounts of any demonstration which seems to support the party that they advocate. In this multiplying mirror, the image of a single Tractarian is transformed into an assembly of divines ; and a little knot of ambitious curates pass themselves off on the dazzled public as the leaders of ecclesiastical opinion.* It has been said that parties, like snakes, "are guided by their tail, not by their head." But perhaps it would be truer to say that the waggling of the tail is thought to indicate a motion of the more important members when they are really quiescent. In the instance before us this mistake is fostered by the circum-

* In one case a "Church Union" consisted for some time of a clergyman, his curate, his churchwarden, and his schoolmaster ; and the resolutions and proceedings of this important body regularly filled several columns of the "English Churchman." We ought to add that this newspaper has lately become the organ of a more moderate party, but its circulation is infinitesimally small.

stance that the journals generally supposed to represent the High Church party, really represent its extreme section only. This, indeed, is equally the case on the Low Church side. For quiet and moderate men (whatever be their party) will seldom tear themselves from their daily duties to get up newspapers, to agitate against agitators, or to protest against protesters. Thus the High Churchman laments the violence of his "Chronicle" or his "Guardian," and the Evangelical groans over the absurdities of his "Record." But finding no other paper free from similar faults, they continue grumblingly to take in the offending prints.

The agitation we have described cannot exist without involving much insubordination. Accordingly, the party which began with the watchwords of order and obedience, is now the most disorderly and disobedient in the Church. Every clergyman is pledged, not merely by acts of Parliament, but by Articles, by Canons, and by repeated Oaths, to acknowledge the Royal Supremacy in Ecclesiastical Causes. Yet we have lately seen the decision of the Queen in Council openly repudiated with a formal publicity which exposed the guilty parties to the penalties of a *præmunire*. But it may be said that the Supremacy, though an Anglican, is not a catholic doctrine; and that a "catholic mind" acknowledges subordination to the divinely appointed governors of the Church, not to the earthly rulers of the State. Such is, indeed, the profession of the Tractarian party. "The Bishops," they tell us, "are the living representatives of Christ;" and again, "Whatever we ought to do, had we lived when the Apostles were alive, the same ought we to do for the Bishops. He that despiseth them despiseth the Apostles."* But, alas, these guides are only divine

* Tract for the Times, No. 10.

and apostolic so long as they side with their professed worshippers. If they venture to decide against them, they instantly become not merely fallible but heretical. Out of the whole body of English bishops, two only are now considered sound in Tractarian faith. And the scorn expressed even for their collective decisions, may be seen in the contemptuous denunciations hurled by these champions of Ecclesiastical Order against the Episcopal Monition to the Clergy, which was signed in 1851 by twenty-four out of the twenty-eight bishops on the bench. The party seems, in fact, to take a schoolboyish pleasure in showing the annihilation of Episcopal power, and the unlimited licence of disobedience practically possessed by the clergy. Greenwood and Penry were hanged by Whitgift, Leighton was whipped and mutilated by Laud, for the use of language against bishops mild in comparison with that which every pamphleteering curate now uses with impunity. We were especially edified by one pamphlet which was published by a rustic pastor soon after the Gorham Judgment. The worthy man (who was Vicar of Puddleton Parva in the county of Wilts*) informed the Archbishop in all sober sadness, that whensoever he, the said Archbishop, should present himself as a communicant at the altar of Puddleton, he should be repelled therefrom. Imagine the vindictive satisfaction with which Archbishop Laud would have received such a document! and how pleasantly he would have noted in his diary, a few weeks afterwards, the results of its publication upon the ears, nose, back, and cheeks of the author!†

* From a desire not to expose a country clergyman to unnecessary ridicule, we suppress the name of this Wiltshire Vicar, and alter that of his parish.

† See Laud's detailed account (in his diary) of the execution of Leighton's sentence (Rushworth's Collections, vol. ii. p. 57.).

But if the Primate, by "voluntary betrayal of his most sacred trust,"* has deserved such treatment from the faithful, at least the Bishop of London, we might hope, must command their grateful deference. He favoured not the heterodoxy of Gorham; nay, he stood alone among his brethren of the Privy Council in resisting the Institution of that obstinate heretic. And at the time, he was glorified by the members of the Sect as the pillar of orthodoxy. But this was when he gave a judgment in their favour; since then he has ventured to decide against them; and now he too is a mark for the scoffs of the "Chronicle," and the more polished sarcasms of the "Guardian." His fall is connected with a controversy which was brought before Parliament three years ago. It will perhaps be remembered that Lord Palmerston, when Foreign Secretary, displaced the Chaplain at Madeira. The Bishop of London, however, did not think the faults committed deserving of so severe a punishment, and refused to withdraw the Chaplain's Episcopal licence. The ejected clergyman continued to minister to a section of the British residents, and the new chaplain was denounced by the seceding party as the worst of heretics. No sooner was he landed than his predecessor put into his hands a solemn protest. In this document (which, with its Appendix, fills up thirty pages of the Parliamentary Blue Book† containing an account of these transactions) the chaplain is informed that his "assumption of the office *without licence from the Bishop* is a schismatical and unlawful act."‡ His congregation are warned that if they attend

* Pastoral of the Bishop of Exeter, p. 112.

† Correspondence respecting the British Chaplaincy in Madeira, printed by order of the House of Lords, 1849.

‡ Above-mentioned Blue Book, p. 146.

his ministrations they will "become partakers in the sins of disobedience and schism;"* and innumerable quotations are gathered from old fathers and modern divines, to enforce the Ignatian maxim that "*the obeying of the Bishop is the necessary condition of Christian communion, and he that does not obey the Bishop is worse than an infidel.*"† Who would have supposed that the very man who wrote this protest, and his followers who applauded it, would within three years be themselves defying the authority of the self-same Bishop? Yet so it was. The extravagance of their conduct induced the Bishop to withdraw his countenance. At once obedience was changed into rebellion. The Priest who had just stigmatised unlicensed ministration as worse than infidelity, himself continued to officiate for many months after his licence was cancelled. When he left the island, the extreme section of his partisans went yet farther. For the Bishop, having, in the meanwhile, given a licence to the Government Chaplain, they refused to acknowledge its validity, on the ground that it was granted to a notorious schismatic. And when the Bishop desired them to recognise his nominee, "as the only clergyman acting there under Episcopal authority,"‡ they replied by new citations from the Fathers, directing the faithful to resist heretical bishops, and opened a church on independent principles.§

All this insubordination is defended by the Tractarian party on the ground of a higher allegiance. "The

* Above-mentioned Blue Book, p. 146.

† Ibid. p. 186.

‡ Letter of the Bishop of London, September 1. 1852 (quoted from the "Guardian").

§ "I have reopened our church," says their minister, "falling back upon the general mission possessed by every priest for acting in special emergencies." (*Guardian*, Dec. 29. 1852.)

Church of their baptism," is in danger, and they must defend it even against the successors of the Apostles. But here they are assailed by their Romish friends with the question, how they can venture, on their private judgment, to pronounce a successor of the Apostles guilty of heresy? Confounded by this difficulty, many of them are driven to renounce Church, baptism, and all. Some, indeed, have contrived to renounce their baptism without quitting their Church, which is stranger still. One of their leaders, in a work which he has lately published upon the Greek Church, openly avows that on the 24th of July, 1851, he presented a document to the Patriarch of Constantinople, wherein he stated that "finding himself oppressed within the Anglican pale by a majority of heterodox, careless, or weak members," he "was desirous of obtaining admission into the orthodox Communion;" and that, to this end, he "*was willing to own the defective character of his former baptism, and to submit to conditional immersion.*"* The clergyman who thus proposed to renounce his baptism still retains his fellowship; and the Tractarian organ mentions his conduct without a word of censure.

The party whose salient features we have thus attempted to sketch, is (as we have intimated) more noisy than numerous. Its chief *habitats* in England are the two South-western dioceses; and we often find in the advertisements for curacies in the "Guardian," a proviso that the appointment must be in Exeter, or Bath and Wells. Another favoured haunt of the sect is among the Episcopalian Non-conformists of Scotland. These

* Quoted from a work on the Orthodox Greek Church by a Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, whose name is omitted, for the reason stated in the preface to this edition. What would the Fellows of Magdalen of 1688 have thought of their modern successor?

descendants of the Non-jurors, whose worship was, within living memory, subjected to the penalties of the law, still retain the spirit and temper, as well as the Liturgy, of Laud. Their bishops are elected solely by the clergy, and the clergy of each diocese average from ten to twenty in number.* It is natural that these functionaries should make up for their want of temporal importance by exalting their spiritual dignity. Their communion affords a refuge to those who, though disgusted with the Protestantism of the Church of England, cannot quite resolve to join the Church of Rome.† Several of these seceders have been elected to Scotch "Bishoprics," and amuse themselves harmlessly with playing at prelacy. For here they can lord it safely over their tiny flocks, and can hurl their mimic thunderbolts without setting the country in a flame. We rejoice, however, that they have lately been restrained from publishing their excommunications against those who differ from them, by the decisions of the Courts of Law, that such publication is libellous.‡

Tractarianism also flourishes in some of our Colonies, where members of the party have been sent out as bishops. We have already expressed our hearty sympathy with the establishment of a Colonial episcopate;

* The three smallest Scotch "Dioceses" contained in 1852 only thirteen clergy apiece. The other day there was a fierce contest for the election of "the Bishop of St. Andrews." Sixteen clergy were brought to the poll, eight on one side, and eight on the other, and the successful candidate, Mr. Wordsworth, was so far from affecting the *nolo episcopari* that he gave a casting vote for himself. It is but justice to say that he deserved a much higher honour than that thus obtained, being a man of real learning, and one who has done much for the cause of Christian education.

† We find from the official accounts that half the clergy now officiating as Episcopalian Non-conformists in Scotland were ordained in the English Church.

‡ In the case of Sir W. Dunbar *v.* the Titular Bishop of Aberdeen.

and we therefore can more freely lament the mistakes made in some of the appointments towards the close of Archbishop Howley's life. The Government very properly consulted the Archbishop on these nominations, since the endowments had been subscribed by members of the Church; and the Archbishop having latterly fallen under the guidance of a small clique of Romanising clergy, several bishoprics were given to their partisans. Thus we find the Churchmen in some dioceses protesting against the Tractarian character of the clergy appointed by their rulers, who have succeeded, in certain cases, in giving to their own party a majority of six to one. The organs of the clique applaud the Bishops for having reduced the Low Church to this insignificant minority. We own that, to us, such victories show neither the gentleness of the dove, nor the wisdom of the serpent. We trembled for the Church, when we found that a prelate of this school had claimed a seat in Convocation. Had the claim been conceded, we suppose that the more ambitious Colonial bishops would have resided permanently in the Metropolis, and appointed deputies to perform their diocesan duties. As it is, some of them seem to spend half their time here, and we never see an account of any public festivity during the London season, without finding three or four of these *Episcopi minorum gentium* among the company. Xavier never returned from India, to starve it at Madrid; and, unless our Colonial bishoprics be given to men of Xavier's spirit, they have been created in vain.

The Tractarians are essentially a clerical party, and have but few lay retainers. Nor have they sufficient wealth and influence to attract so large a body of trading members as the Recordites. Still these followers of worthy Master Byends are not altogether wanting in the

advertising columns of the Tractarian press. Pedagogues and schoolmistresses make, as before, the principal figure. There we find several "establishments" where "*the pupils have the great advantage of attending the morning and evening prayers of the Church;*" and we are invited to send our sons to receive a "CLASSICAL AND ANGLO-CATHOLIC EDUCATION," where "*a limited number of pupils are received,*" and where, "*N. B. The Daily Service will be used.*"* Nor can we hesitate to place our daughters under the shadow of Episcopal protection in "*St. Margaret's College, Crieff, Perthshire, for the education of young ladies.*" VISITOR, *the Bishop of St. Andrews.* * * * DANCING, *Madame Apolline Zuingle.*"† Besides this class of advertisers, there are a few Tractarian tailors, who proclaim the merit of their *clerical frock-coats* and *cassock waistcoats*; several High-Church haberdashers, who supply *offertory bags*, and clothe the altar and the credence-table with mediæval millinery; and one undertaker, who professes (*mirabile dictu*) to make *Anglo-Catholic coffins*! But the most formidable tradesman of the party we have ever encountered was a polemical dentist, into whose hands it was once our unhappy lot to fall. We were ignorant of his ecclesiastical politics, and made an incautious reply to his first question, wherein he pressed for our opinion on the character of the Primate. Bitterly did we repent our folly. Plunging his brad-awl (or whatever that horrid instrument is called) right into the nerve of the tooth which he was stopping, he sternly corrected our heterodoxy, and consigned the Archbishop to the company of Judas. We instantly assented, tried to retract our previous blunder, and gave up the Metropolitan to

* From the English Churchman.

† Guardian, July, 1852.

his doom. But it was too late. Our jaw was ruthlessly seized, and speech was thenceforth impossible. During the succeeding hour, "stretched on the rack of a too easy chair," we listened to a lecture on the Gorham controversy, while every point of the discourse was emphasised by an excruciating poke into the living heart of the tooth. Vain were our attempts at recantation, vain our shrieks of agony. The merciless operator continued to storm against heresy, and stab against the nerve, till he thought he had punished us sufficiently. At last we were allowed to rise, with aching jaws, better qualified to appreciate the logic of Torquemada, and vowing that we had rather spend an hour even under a Recordite expounder than under a Romanising dentist.

Such proselytes, however, are very rare among the middle and lower classes. Indeed, the chief mischief done by the Tractarians is that they alienate these classes from the Establishment. The accession of a Tractarian rector is always followed by the overcrowding of old conventicles, and the erection of new ones. The clergyman who has thus succeeded in driving half his hearers into Dissent, seems often rather pleased than otherwise at his achievement. He congratulates himself that he has winnowed the corn, and fairly separated the chaff from the wheat. "I have only twenty people now who come to church," said a country rector—"but they are all sound churchmen." Moreover, such a priest feels his labours lessened by the desertion, as he is not bound to take any charge of his schismatical parishioners, and gives himself no farther trouble about them, except that of crossing himself and spitting on the ground when he passes the Zion or Bethesda where they assemble.*

* A clergyman of this party was walking with a friend through a great

This exaggerated manifestation of High Church principles, mischievous though it be, is less disgusting than the stagnant form of the same party, which was so widely diffused in the good old days of Eldonian Toryism. Its adherents, always indolent and ignorant, were once politically formidable by their numbers and their wealth. Now they are fallen from their high estate, and are contemptuously denominated the "High and Dry"; just as the parallel development of the Low Church is nicknamed "Low and Slow." There is so much analogy between these two fraternities, that it is best to consider them together. Their professed doctrines, indeed, are dissimilar, but these are only accidentally adopted, and make no essential distinction. In sluggish mediocrity, in hatred of zeal, in dread of innovation, in abuse of Dissent, they are in perfect harmony. The blundering and languid utterance, the want of life and fire in their style, the absence of any thing in look, voice, or manner, which could touch the heart of their hearers, characterises both alike. If they write their own sermons, it is "with drops of opium upon leaves of lead;" and such is the narcotic effect of these discourses that the most attentive listener can hardly retain his consciousness long enough to discover whether the preacher is to be classed among the "Dry" or the "Slow." Indeed, a sermon of either class might often be turned into one of the other, by simply sub-

manufacturing town. As they passed a large and ugly building, "How frightful," said his friend, "that St. Matthew's church is!" "Church!" exclaimed the other, "Is it a church? I always took it for a Dissenting chapel, and treated it as such. I hope I may be pardoned." "What do you mean," inquired his friend, "by *treating it as such*?" "Why," replied the first, "whenever I pass a Dissenting chapel I cross myself, spit upon the ground, and say, *Get thee behind me Satan.*" It is fair to mention, however, that this gentleman has since joined the Church of Rome.

stituting "Church" for "Gospel," or *vice versâ*, throughout the soporific pages. The only difference is, that the minister of the "Slow" school, if he has a town congregation, sometimes soars into heights of rhetoric never attempted by his drier brethren. In such a case we can easily detect the use which the preacher has made of his *Dictionary of Similes* and his *Vocabulary of Synonyms*. Perhaps there may be more of doctrine in the "Slow" discourse, more of ethics in the "Dry." Yet from such lips, truths the most awful and awakening fall flat and dead, and precepts of the purest morality become drowsy commonplace. But happily many of these worthies are wise enough to eschew original composition altogether. We find that both sections are provided with the means of escaping this laborious task, and yet deceiving the eyes of their congregation. The terms on which the "High and Dry" are supplied, appear from the following monthly notice in the "Guardian": "TO THE CLERGY EXCLUSIVELY, *whose parochial labours, &c. preclude the possibility of composition. The four plain practical sermons for February printed in MANUSCRIPT LITHOGRAPHY (very legible) will be ready for delivery on January 21. Price of each set of four sermons 8s. . . . The services of a clergyman of great experience and unquestionable soundness and moderation have been engaged to write these sermons for the publisher.*"* To the "Low and Slow" clergy, on the other hand, a similar announcement is made in the columns of the "Record": "IMPORTANT TO CLERGYMEN. *A few sets of Dr. Trusler's facsimile manuscript sermons may still be procured at the low price of half a guinea for the set of a hundred sermons.*"† This is cheap indeed! Why

* Guardian, Jan. 1853.

† Record, Nov. 11. 1852.

should the "Dry" be charged 2s. a sermon, when their brethren are thus provided with twenty for the same sum? We cannot think that any difference in the value of the article can account for this enormous disparity in the price. Probably Dr. Trusler's manuscript is not so "very legible" as his rival's, and the typographical superiority may explain the pecuniary disproportion.

The performance of service by these two cognate schools is still more alike than their style of preaching. Slothful negligence and unfeeling stupidity is the pervading character of all their ministrations. The Church furniture is shabby, the music bad, the prayers mumbled, and the lessons mouthed. Even in our Cathedrals themselves, where perfect architecture, venerable associations, and all appliances for vocal and instrumental harmony, would seem to insure to our Liturgy its fullest devotional effect, it is sometimes turned into burlesque by the slovenly irreverence of such performers. As an example, we will mention a scene which occurred in one of these Diocesan Churches, where the Prebendaries are bound to attend daily prayers for twenty-one days continuously in every year; the rule being that if a Prebendary misses a single service, he must begin his twenty-one days over again. One day, an old Prebendary (high, dry, and gouty) came limping into his stall a minute after the service had begun. The Dean immediately turned to him and exclaimed, "You must begin again, Sir." "Do you hear, Sir, what the Dean says to you?" shouted the Prebendary to the intoning Minor Canon — "he tells you to begin the service again." The inferior officer humbly obeyed, and complete victory crowned the Prebendal stratagem.

The two stagnant parties both agree in dislike of excitement and love for a quiet life. The "Slow" school, however, being generally quartered in the towns, and maintained in some measure by pew rents, have no dislike to a crowded audience; on the contrary, they sigh bitterly over the vacant seats which too faithfully reflect the vacancy of their discourses. The "High and Dry," on the other hand, being usually possessed of permanent endowments, have a positive abhorrence of a throng. One of this party, an old Fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge (now dead), held a living in the town. During his absence in a long vacation, he employed a deputy, who unexpectedly turned out a popular preacher. The whole aspect of the church was soon altered. From the emptiest church in Cambridge it became the fullest, and even in the passages standing room was hard to find. News of the metamorphosis reached the old incumbent in his country retreat, and he was at first a great deal discomposed. But after a few moments of meditation, he exclaimed, "Filled my church, has he? never mind; I'll undertake to empty it in a fortnight." We need not add, that the prediction was literally accomplished.

In their parochial administration, it is quite impossible to distinguish the representatives of one form of stagnation from those of the other. Both are equally negligent of their duties; both equally tenacious of their emoluments. When the Royal Commission was appointed, in 1849, for the subdivision of large parishes, one of the first letters which they received was from the incumbent of an enormous parish with a population of many thousands under his charge. The Commissioners expected that it would contain an appeal for their assistance in the object which must be next his heart, an

increased provision for the spiritual destitution of his flock. But the writer was of the "High and Dry" school; and his letter was an urgent representation of the danger that loss of fees might result to the Incumbent by the subdivision of Ecclesiastical districts. Subsequently the object of the Commission was explained to this worthy pastor, and he was urged to consider the importance of providing at least one clergyman to every five or six thousand souls. His reply was candid:—"They may do what they like with the souls, provided they leave us the fees."

The main difference between these two species of drones, is a difference of wealth and position. As a general rule, the "High and Dry" are rich, the "Low and Slow" are poor. Both disgust us, but the former excite our indignation, the latter our pity. The former, however, are a class still indeed too numerous, but rapidly dying out: the latter, though comparatively few at present, are rapidly increasing. To them belong the uninteresting ministers who fill so many of the livings recently created; the incumbents of new districts, with large population and small endowment. Poor as their preferment is, it is a temptation to the idle sons of ambitious shopkeepers, who enter the clerical profession to raise themselves in society, but whose training is not such as to raise them in moral or intellectual rank. It is to be feared, indeed, that so long as the process of multiplying poor incumbencies goes on (essential as it is to the very existence of the Church), without a corresponding improvement in clerical education, it must result in lowering the standard of the profession both in mind and manners, and assimilating it to that which now characterises the peasant clergy of Wales and Cumberland.

On the other hand, the most conspicuous among the "High and Dry" men are the relatives or favourites of prelates long defunct, who flourished in those easy-going days when pluralities were not yet forbidden, nor sinecures abolished. Their youth was not fed with dreams of Catholic ideals, but inspired with more substantial visions of the comforts of an "Establishment ;"

"Wherein are various ranks, and due degrees ;
The Bench for honour, and the Stall for ease."

Their fortune was often made for them before they left the nursery. No sooner had they quitted College, than they became dignitaries of the Church. Prebends, rectories, and archdeaconries seemed to have been created that these children of the purple might take their ease, eat, drink, and be merry. Nor was public opinion then shocked by such nepotism. But that generation has passed away ; and only a few relics of its abuses linger in the pages of the Clergy List, to point the moral of the Church reformer, or adorn the tale of the demagogue. We could almost pity the last survivors of that well-fed race, who are left bloated with pluralities and gorged with sinecures, to endure the indignant scoffs of a reforming age. They were but ordinary specimens of their breed, but their brethren have been swept away by the receding tide, and they lie stranded on the shore. By this perversity of fate they are doomed to gasp out their latest breath under the harpoons of a crowd of satirists. "*Hæc data pœna, diu viventibus!*"

These, however, never formed the bulk of their party, although they were its natural chiefs. Its main body consisted of country parsons, with fat rectories and fatter heads, whose numbers have been thinned

down by the advance of intelligence, and the increase of religious feeling in the class from which they spring. Though never a theological party, they once formed a strong and rampant faction. But now their day is over; though still individually numerous, they have no collective objects, and have almost ceased to influence the course of ecclesiastical politics.

Side by side with these several shades of High and Low Church, another party of a different character has always existed in the Church of England. It is called by various names; Moderate, Catholic, or Broad Church, by its friends; Latitudinarian or Indifferent by its enemies. Its distinctive character is the desire of comprehension. Its watchwords are Charity and Toleration. Its adherents love the Church of England for that very peculiarity which has most provoked the criticism of her detractors. She is reproached by Rome with Puritanism, by Geneva with Popery. Nay, some among her children lament that she has given too much colour to such reproaches. The Tractarian complains that she teaches "with the stammering lips of ambiguous formularies;"* that she tolerates heterodoxy, and has no thunders for the Calvinist or the Erastian. The Recordite, on the other side, owns with a sigh that her Baptismal Service is calculated to mislead, and her Catechism hard to reconcile with Scripture. Her catholic sons, on the contrary, consider this balanced and compromising character as among her greatest claims to their admiration. If they wish for any change, it is only that the same principle should be pushed still farther. For they believe that the superficial differences between Christians are as nothing in comparison with

* Tract, No. 90. (1st ed.)

their essential agreement; and they are willing that the portals of the church should be flung as widely open as the gates of Heaven.*

The doctrines taught by this party are the same in which both High and Low Church are agreed. The Incarnation and the Atonement, conversion by Grace, and Justification by Faith, are fundamental articles of their creed. They only differ from their brethren in believing that these doctrines have virtually been held by all Christians in every age; by Loyola and Xavier, not less truly (though less clearly) than by Latimer and Ridley. Yet though thus willing to own the Romanists as brethren, they are sincere and even fervent Protestants. But they conceive the essence of Popery to consist not in points of metaphysical theology, but in the ascription of magic virtue to outward acts; and against this idolatrous superstition they protest, whether it manifests itself in the Puritan or the Papist. Their other tenets may be generally described by saying that they embrace the positive and reject the negative side of the Anglican and the Evangelical systems. They join both in their exhortations, neither in their excommunications. With the Low Church, they teach that Scripture is the only rule of faith; but hence they deduce a conclusion which many Low Churchmen would repudiate, that all who believe the Scripture are members of the household of faith. With the High Church, they affirm the doctrine of Judgment by Works; and thence

* A critic has remarked on this, that the comprehensiveness imagined would be impossible; for that good unbelievers (like Socrates) will be admitted into Heaven, but could not be admitted into a Christian church. The objector forgot that if such men enter Heaven, it is not as unbelievers, but as believers, all darkness being removed from their minds by the light of that eternal day.

infer that salvation depends not upon the ritual but the life; that the fruits of the Spirit are the sole criterion of the Spirit's presence. A characteristic feature of their theology is the prominence which it gives to the idea of the *Visible Church*; an idea ignored in the teaching of the Evangelicals, and excluded from the creed of the Recordites. On this point the views of the Broad Party approach those of the High Churchmen; from which they differ principally in not restricting the universal commonwealth to any single form of outward government. They hold the Church to be a society divinely instituted for the purpose of manifesting God's presence, and bearing witness to his attributes, by their reflection in its ordinances and in its members. If its ideal were fully embodied in its actual constitution, "it would remind us daily of God, and work upon the habits of our life as insensibly as the air we breathe."* For this end it would revive many good practices which save even a corrupt Church from utter putrefaction; such as "daily services, frequent communions, memorials of our Christian calling presented to our notice in crosses and wayside oratories; commemorations to holy men of all times and countries; religious orders, especially of women, of different kinds and under different rules, delivered only from the snare and sin of perpetual vows."† By these and other means they believe that it was designed, and that it is still destined, to realise the idea of Christian Brotherhood, and to be the true sign from Heaven for the conversion of the world.

This doctrine has not been to its votaries an idle dream. The writer who dwelt on it most fondly, and

* Arnold's Sermons, vol. iv. p. 307.

† Ibid., Introduction, p. 56.

advocated it most earnestly, exemplified his theory with no insignificant results, though on a miniature scale. In his government of the public school committed to his care, he worked upon the model of that Christian commonwealth which was never absent from his imagination. The great reform wrought in the education of the upper ranks, with its many far-reaching consequences, is ascribed by all parties to his efforts, and has been in no small measure accomplished by his disciples. The same views and feelings stimulate the exertions of those who are seeking (under the guidance of Archdeacon Hare)* to revive a true ecclesiastical government, and to reanimate the Church, by giving back those functions to her members which are now usurped by her ministers. Men who see in such a revival the best hope of Christianising her people, are eager to seize upon every feature of her actual constitution which favours their objects; to restore the order of deacons; to give modern duties to cathedral chapters; and generally, to breathe new life into all dead forms which are susceptible of adaptation to the wants of a living world.

But these wider schemes and aspirations do not lead them to neglect the work which they can already do with the actual means within their reach. The parochial clergy of this school look upon their essential function to be not merely "to preach the Gospel," or "to set forth the ordinances of the Church,"—but to

* Since these pages were first written, the nation has lost in Archdeacon Hare one of its best and greatest men; a man who combined indignant hatred against moral evil with a catholic love for goodness wherever it was found, and who devoted learning and eloquence of no common order to the cause of truth. When men like Arnold and Hare are cut off before their time, it is a natural superstition which tempts us to look upon their removal as a sign of coming judgments, and an evil omen for the church which they adorned.

promote the highest good of every person under their charge. With this object before them, they consider their labours in the pulpit as but a small part of their office. Everything which can tend to the moral progress of their flock is comprised in the circle of their duties. The great advance which has been lately made in the secular instruction of the poor, is almost wholly due to this party in the Church. One of its members* was the first to show, both by precept and example, the kind of teaching really required by the people. He proved by his own success, that the children of an ordinary parochial school may be taught not merely to say by rote, but to understand and apply, the elements of natural science and of geometry. And he solved a still more difficult problem, by rendering such a school self-supporting. His books are now the manuals of every well trained schoolmaster, and his methods are adopted in all well managed schools.

Again we owe to this party the most successful efforts which have been made to reclaim the artisans of the Metropolis from the infidelity in which they are so generally sunk. Mr. Maurice has set the example of dealing with this difficulty in a frank and manly spirit, making himself the sympathising friend of those whose errors he was anxious to remove. Mr. Wilson, who in his factory schools at Vauxhall has carried on the same good work with more success, and on a larger scale, states that he was first led to undertake his noble task by reading the life of Arnold.

By men like-minded with these, the humanizing in-

* Mr. Dawes, now Dean of Hereford. Every one interested in popular education must be familiar with the full account of his labours at King's Sombourne, given in the successive volumes of the Minutes of the Committee of Council since 1847.

fluence of amusement has been brought to aid in the regeneration of the humbler classes; and religion is represented, not as sternly checking, but as sanctioning and augmenting, the pleasures of the poor. It is no slight cause of thankfulness, to hear that there are manufacturing villages in Yorkshire, where, under the superintendence of the clergyman, Handel's Messiah is performed by the operatives of the mills. Such cases are becoming daily more common; and in parishes thus administered we are sure to find the attractions of the alehouse and the ginshop gradually superseded, by those of cricket clubs and chess clubs, reading rooms, singing classes, and excursion trains.

In such measures, and generally in all the good works of the Broad Church party, two sections co-operate, which we may call, for the sake of distinctness, its theoretical and antitheoretical sections. The opinions which we have ascribed to the party, are those of its theoretical members; and from these many of the other section would shrink with alarm. For, although they sympathise in the love of comprehension, which distinguishes their more advanced friends, yet they do not allow themselves to speculate on any relaxation of the terms of communion at present fixed by the Church. They advocate the fullest toleration of all within the pale, from Mr. Gorham to Mr. Bennett; the case of those without, they consider beyond their jurisdiction. This portion of the party, if less liberal than the other, is probably not less useful. By the absence of wide general views and speculative tendencies, they are less likely to provoke professional prejudice; and thus they are enabled more effectually to pursue the work of their calling, without let or hindrance. They are characterised by cordially throwing themselves into the existing

system of the Church, and casting their doctrines and their minds into the mould of her twofold teaching. They neither stultify the Articles, nor mutilate the Liturgy; but heartily embrace the truths presented to them in each under a different aspect. They join the societies and exert themselves for the objects both of the Anglicans and the Evangelicals. They will not allow themselves to feel jealousy or suspicion towards any party which professes to fight under the banner of the Church. By this line of action, when pursued with a manly singleness of purpose, they often avoid the enmity which proverbially dogs middle courses, and sometimes even win universal popularity. No better example of such results from such conduct can be given, than the unanimous approbation elicited by the recent appointment of Dr. Jackson to the see of Lincoln.

It will appear from what we have said, that the Broad Church are, to the middle of the nineteenth century, what the Low Church were to its beginning, — the originators of ecclesiastical reform, and the pioneers of moral progress. But there is one important difference between the two cases. The Evangelicals were united closely to one another, they acted as a compact body, they combined to carry common objects, and their views were advocated in Parliament by able representatives. Whereas those whom we now describe have so little organisation or mutual concert of any kind, that they can scarcely be called a party at all. They are even destitute of that instrument, which every fractional subdivision of the smallest sects possesses, an organ in the periodical press. This is the more remarkable because among their ranks is comprehended almost every living clerical author whose name is distinguished in literature or science. There are in the present day,

clergymen who have richly contributed to Classical Philology, to the Mathematical Sciences, to the Physical Sciences, to Secular History, to Ecclesiastical History, to Poetry, and to general literature. But all, with hardly a single exception, are Broad Churchmen. In theology, it is true, other parties have produced works of merit; but even there, the most valuable and original additions to the national stock have proceeded from the same quarter. Yet this school of opinion, so rich in eminent writers, is unrepresented in the press, except by the isolated publications of individuals. The reason of this is not hard to find. It is always easier to keep together a body of partisans on a narrow than on a comprehensive basis. The watchwords of party should be battle-cries, not notes of peace. The Catholic Christian, indeed, is engaged in warfare; but it is against moral evil, not against opposing sects; his weapons are self-denial, holiness, and love, weapons less easy to wield than excommunications and interdicts. It is not difficult to raise an army for the assault of Rome, or for a crusade against Geneva; but the Flesh and the Devil are less definite antagonists; and sometimes while we think we are in arms against them, we are really fighting on their side. A common hate is the cement to consolidate a party.

The only thing which would force the Broad party into an organised alliance, would be the revival of a representative assembly of the Church. In the deliberations of such a body, they would be compelled to a visible union, by co-operating in one line of action. Thus they would no doubt be enabled to effect more than they can at present; but, on the other hand, they could scarcely escape the vices of partisanship, from which they are now exempt.

The Catholic views of this School are assailed, as might be expected, both by High and Low. One of the favourite arguments against them, is neither more nor less than the old Chrysippian sophism: "You are willing," says the objector, "to include both A and B within the Church, on the ground that there is no vital difference between them. But there is as little difference between B and C, between C and D, between D and E, and so on. On your principles, then, why should you not include all the letters of the alphabet? In other words, if Dr. Pusey and Mr. Gorham are both admissible, how can you exclude the Unitarian, the Jew, the Deist, and the Pantheist?" This is easily answered by a retort; for the objector is himself willing to admit all the A's, the big A, and the little A, the black-letter A, and the Italian A; and he is as unable as his antagonist to show a gulf separating the last whom he admits from the first whom he excludes.

But another and more serious objection remains. It is said that this easy comprehension leads too often to careless coldness; that universal toleration is usually associated with universal indifference. It cannot be denied that this charge contains some ground of truth. The Catholic tendency of mind has its peculiar dangers, no less than the exclusive. The Broad-Church principles have (like those of their opponents), been pushed into exaggeration, and have sunk into stagnation. Restless spirits will proceed from the denial of dogmatic infallibility to the denial of the faith. Sluggish natures will freeze, when unwarmed by the fire of fanaticism.

Thus we may recognise in this, as in the other parties, the same threefold subdivision; the normal phase being still attended by two degraded types. The exaggeration of the spirit of tolerance is a spirit of scepti-

cism. Indifference to dogmatism, when pushed to an extreme, becomes indifference to truth. There will always be some who are led from the disregard of unimportant distinctions to the belief that all distinctions are unimportant. Such men will naturally be little zealous to expose themselves to martyrdom for the sake of opinions which they consider immaterial. And, on the other hand, if temporal interest urges them to accept a formula of faith, they may silence their scruples with the excuse that, on such doubtful matters, as much may be said for one conclusion as for another. Thus they may be led to profess an assent to doctrines which they disbelieve, and to sign articles nominally for the sake of peace, but really for the sake of preferment.

That this is no imaginary danger, English Ecclesiastical History in the 18th century most amply proves. The comprehensive Christianity of Tillotson and Burnet too soon degenerated into the worldliness of the Sadducean Hoadly. During the long ministry of Walpole, who made no secret of his own infidel opinions, the Church was familiarly divided into two sections, the "believing" and the "unbelieving" clergy. The readers of Swift's Letters and Hervey's Memoirs, will remember the case of Bishop Rundle, whose consecration was resisted by some of those who had heard him avow his disbelief in Scripture, and who was in consequence nominated to an Irish instead of an English see.* In the correspondence of David Hume we find his reply to a

* See Hervey's Memoirs of George II. vol. i. p. 447—455. The clergyman who, by courageously coming forward to expose Dr. Rundle, prevented his appointment to an English bishoprick, was Richard Venn, father of the more celebrated Henry Venn, and great grandfather of the two brothers of that name, who now adorn the Evangelical party by manifesting the hereditary virtues of their family in two important fields of clerical labour.

young clergyman, who, after confessing his infidelity, had applied (through a common friend) to the philosopher for advice. Hume recommends him "to adhere to the Ecclesiastical profession, in which he may have so good a patron ; for civil employments for men of letters can scarcely be found." He continues as follows: "It is putting too great a respect on the vulgar, and on their superstitions, to pique oneself on sincerity with regard to them. The Ecclesiastical profession only adds a little more to the innocent dissimulation without which it is impossible to pass through the world."* It is clear that honest David would have been very willing to change places with Bishop Hoadly, and would probably have taken Orders himself, had not the Presbyterian manse been too ill endowed for the comfortable maintenance of a "man of letters." A little later in the same century we learn from the Autobiography of Thomas Scott, that he was ordained on the same principles ; and he speaks of many others of his acquaintance as making no secret of similar opinions. In 1772, no less than 250 clergymen signed the celebrated "Feathers' Tavern" petition ; wherein they prayed Parliament that the petitioners might be "*relieved*" from subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles, "and restored to their rights, as Protestants, of interpreting Scripture for themselves, without being bound by any human explications thereof." They did not explain what hindered them from "relieving" themselves, by resigning their preferments. Paley, in the pamphlet which he published in defence of these petitioners, acknowledges "that they continue in the Church without being able to reconcile to their belief every proposition imposed upon them by subscription;" and speaks

* Burton's Life of Hume, vol. ii. p. 187.

of them as "impatient under the yoke."* This pamphlet was published anonymously at the time, and it is said that when its author was urged to sign the petition, on the ground that he was "bound in conscience" to do so, he replied that "he was too poor to keep a conscience." It is but justice, however, to say that Paley in later life adopted very different opinions from those of his earlier days. What surprises us most, is the unblushing effrontery with which the men of that generation avowed their dishonesty. For example, there was a clergyman presented to a country rectory in Kent, about the year 1780. On his induction he read the Thirty-nine Articles from his desk in church (as every new Incumbent must) and declared his unfeigned assent to the same. This being performed, he addressed his rustic congregation as follows: "My brethren, I have obeyed the law by what I have just done; and I now beg God's pardon and yours, for reading to you so much nonsense." Yet this scandalous display of impudence and immorality was suffered to go unpunished.

The mere statement of these facts (all of which, except the last, are matters of historical notoriety) suffices to show the gulf which separates the professional morality of the present century from that of the past. Most readers, even while acknowledging the historical accuracy of the previous statements, yet will feel them to be almost inconceivable. And the existence of this feeling is itself a strong evidence to show how rare, in the present day, are instances of similar profligacy. A Hoadly of our times, supposing him to exist, would not be likely to gain a bishopric by the avowal of free-thinking opinions, or by advocating the practice of

* Paley's collected Works, p. 362.

signing Articles without believing them. And even supposing him, by some strange conjuncture of circumstances, to win a mitre by misbelief, when his point was gained he would soon subside from the febrile to the comatose stage of heterodoxy; and would carry out his views practically, by silently plundering the Church which he had dishonestly invaded. And in this surreptitious development of his sentiments, his trophies would fall far indeed below the gorgeous booty of his prototype. For while Hoadly accumulated the prizes of Bangor, Hereford, and Winchester upon his family, till at last two of them were made bishops for the sake of the spoils they could disgorge, his modern imitator would be unable to make even his first-born a pluralist. It is true, he might still bestow upon the most incapable of sons all the richest livings in his gift; but he must give them in succession, not in conjunction; and though he presented the favoured youth to twelve consecutive rectories in as many months, the law would compel him to quit his grasp of one before he seized upon the next; whereas the happier Hoadlies could have held the dozen at once. But the improbability of the case which we have imagined renders it needless to discuss it farther. For at any rate, if concealed unbelievers exist among the clergy, they must now take care to bury their sentiments under a mask of impenetrable hypocrisy. And we should rather expect to find them among the most straightlaced defenders of orthodoxy, than among suspected heretics. Nay, it is not impossible that some of them may be proctors in Convocation, fighting for the infallibility of the Apocrypha, and maintaining the immaculate conception of the Rubric. There are, however, a very few clergymen upon whom the tone of their writings, or their familiar as-

sociation with avowed unbelievers, has drawn down a suspicion of infidelity. Yet in this suspected class no one would think of reckoning above twenty members, out of the eighteen thousand clergy of England.

More numerous, unquestionably, are those who represent the stagnant type of latitudinarianism. Even in the eighteenth century, the clergy who openly avowed their doubts were an insignificant minority; and the petitioners of the Feathers' Tavern represented the feelings, if not the convictions, of many hundreds of their brethren whose unbelief was manifested not by public protests, but by silent neglect of their duties, and selfish devotion to their interests. Nay, probably among the latter class there were comparatively few who allowed even to themselves that they were hypocritically professing a creed which they disbelieved. Their scepticism was latent, and wore rather the shape of careless indolence and Epicurean apathy than of any positive conclusion.

It is true that carelessness of religion and want of earnestness has oftener assumed the type of stagnant orthodoxy than of tolerant indifferentism, because the sense of secular interest has bred a pugnacity against Dissenters and Methodists which has taken the name of zeal for Ecclesiastical authority. Yet in every age there will be some easy-tempered Pagans who care for none of these things, and cannot even lash themselves into fury against the fanatics of their parochial meeting-house, or the rate-refusing squabblers in their vestry. Such men are, above all things, for a quiet life. They cannot understand why people should vex themselves with all this disputing; and secretly they class the whole range of theological literature under the category of "much ado about nothing." Such indifferentists are

to be found, sometimes in college chambers, eating of the fat, and drinking of the strong; sometimes in country rectories slumbering on their downy cushions with as much tranquillity as the village Hampdens will permit. Their religion is the religion of the State; and would be, if the State were to establish Mahometanism to-morrow. But they conceal this theological impartiality under the guise of universal charity. Thus they are numbered in the ranks of the Broad Church, where they occupy the same place as that filled respectively by the "High and Dry" and by the "Low and Slow" in the two other sections of the Establishment. But though the triple subdivision may be traced in this party as well as in the others, yet its debasements have this peculiarity, that its exaggerated easily passes into its stagnant form. For indifference to truth naturally leads to sensualism; and the sensualist is naturally indifferent to truth. The most universal sceptic believes in pleasure; the idolater of pleasure has no faith in God.

Regarded as a whole, however, the comprehensive party in the Church cannot now be accused of coldness or want of energy. Arnold was no indifferentist, and his followers have been no Epicureans. Nor have these opinions been, in our own days, the stepping-stone to infidelity. On the contrary, the unbelievers of our age and country have come from the ranks of the Calvinists or the Romanists. Yet the history of the last century may well furnish a warning to the adherents of this school of theology. Their zeal, not being sustained by conflict against antagonistic sects, has double need to be kept alive by purer stimulants. Their mental tendency leads them to make light of differences of opinion; but, if they feel tempted to imagine that Truth itself is matter of opinion, and Belief of no avail, let them learn

from history, no less than Scripture, that *Faith is the victory which overcometh the world*. And let them remember that such faith is not a speculative theory, but a practical energy; and that it will sicken and die, if it be not fed by acts of devotion, by habits of prayer, by deeds of self-denial, by exercises of love. If they would save it from extinction, and their own souls from moral ruin, let them visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and keep themselves unspotted from the world.

To ascertain the relative strength of the different sections into which the Church of England is divided, is not an easy task. At first it might be thought that the proctors elected to represent the Clergy in Convocation would furnish data for such a calculation. But these elections have become mere forms, and are seldom contested; and even in the few contests which have occurred, a very small proportion of the electors has taken part. The income of the different religious societies would give an element for determining the resources of the parties by which they are respectively supported: but it is impossible to find any society supported by only a single party. We may, however, deduce from this source some information bearing on the question. The subscriptions to the Church Missionary Society amount to about 100,000*l.* a year; those to the Propagation Society to about 50,000*l.* The former is supported by all shades of Low Church and Broad Church; the latter by all shades of High Church and Broad Church. Hence, if we suppose the number of adherents of the parties to be proportional to the amount of their subscriptions, we arrive at the conclusion that the Low Church party is (including its lay and clerical members) more than twice as numerous as the High Church

party.* Again, the Curates' Aid Society, supported mainly by the High Church, collects rather under 13,000*l.* per annum; the Pastoral Aid Society, supported mainly by the Low Church, collects a little above 30,000*l.* This leads to much the same inference as before.†

The circulation of the religious newspapers, on the other hand, seems to give a different result. The "Record," which is the organ of one extreme party, and the "Guardian," which is the organ of the other, have about an equal circulation. But here again it is impossible to eliminate the elements which prevent us from founding any accurate calculation on these data. Many take in these journals as good "family newspapers," without agreeing with their views. Moreover neither of the moderate parties is represented by any newspaper. And again the whole "average circulation"‡ of both "Record" and "Guardian" together does not amount to eight thousand, whereas the number of clergymen in England alone is above 18,000.

The address to the Archbishop in favour of the Gorham Judgment, was signed by more than 3200§ clergymen, of the Broad and Low Church parties; that against the judgment by nearly 1800 High Churchmen, including laity and clergy. This latter was signed by every Tractarian clergyman in England, and we have thus a proof that their number cannot exceed a thousand, for

* Because $B+L = 2(B+H) \therefore L = 2H+B$.

† In the above statement we have only taken into account the income derived from subscriptions and donations; the other sources of income not affecting our present subject.

‡ *i. e.* the number sold of each separate copy.

§ This was wrongly stated as 2,300, in No. 193. of Edinburgh Review, page 66. note.

at least 800 of the signatures must have belonged to laymen or Anglican clergy.*

As another mode of obtaining an approximation to the proportion of parties, we have gone through the Clergy List, marking the names of all the clergymen whose opinions we knew, to the number of about 500. The result of this examination has been, that, supposing those unknown to us to be in the same proportions with those known, we should be led to classify the 18,000† clergy of the Church of England as follows:—

Low Church	{	Normal type, ("Evangelical")	-	3,300
		Exaggerated type, ("Recordite")	-	2,500
		Stagnant type, ("Low and Slow")		700
High Church	{	Normal type, ("Anglican")	-	3,500
		Exaggerated type, ("Tractarian")		1,000
		Stagnant type, ("High and Dry")	-	2,500
Broad Church	{	Normal type (subdivided into "theoretical" and "anti-theoretical")	-	2,800
		Exaggerated type (concealed infidels)		20(?)
		Stagnant type	- - - -	700

and about 1000 peasant clergy in the mountain districts, who must be classed apart.‡

The twenty-eight Bishops and Archbishops of England are divided in a somewhat different ratio; viz., thirteen belonging to various shades of High Church,

* This protest was sent for signature to every clergyman in England, by a London Committee. The address in favour of the Judgment was only circulated privately by the efforts of a single clergyman, Mr. Goode; and to our knowledge it was never sent to many who would gladly have signed it. [The above estimate of the number of the Tractarian clergy was confirmed in 1854, by the Tractarian protest against Bishop Gobat, which was signed by about 900 English clergymen, besides some Scotch and Irish.]

† The Clergy List of the present year (1853) gives the names of above 18,300 clergy in England; this does not include the Irish clergy.

‡ See the article on "the Church in the Mountains."

ten to the Broad Church, and five to the Evangelical parties. But for obvious reasons we can scarcely ground any general conclusions on this datum.

But whatever may be the relative strength of these subdivisions, it is evident that the triple cord in which they interlace could not easily be untwisted; nor could either of its strands be cut, without a risk of severing the rest. The object of every wise Churchman should be to keep each of the main schools of opinion from extravagance on the one hand, and from stagnation on the other; and the existence of counteracting parties is a check providentially operating for this end. Nor should we forget that the differences which divide each from each are much exaggerated by party spirit. Most of them can be resolved into mere disputes about terms, which might be ended by stricter definition. Those which lie deeper result from a difference of mental constitution, and belong to the domain of metaphysics rather than of religion. For it is in theology as it is in philosophy, every distinct sect strives to represent and embody a separate truth. A few great ideas are intuitively stamped on the groundwork of human reason, but not illuminated with equal brightness. The idea which, in one mind, stands out in dazzling light, in another is dim and overshadowed. Hence each idea has its exclusive worshippers. But as the understanding logically developes its favourite truth, it at length deduces consequences which seem to contradict some other truth equally fundamental. Then follows a conflict, which in a few minds produces absolute Pyrrhonism; but which more frequently issues in one of three alternatives. First, the mind may abandon the principle whence it started, considering it reduced *ad absurdum*, now that its logical consequences seem to contradict another axiom;

secondly, the truth of both principles may be admitted, although their consequences seem irreconcilable; or, thirdly, the consequences of the first principle may be embraced, and the modifying truth rejected. This last is the course adopted by extreme parties. Thus (whether the first principles be derived from reason or from Scripture) there are different stages in the development of opinion, each marked by the rejection or reception of some modifying truth, and each forming the halting-place of a different sect or school. Nor is there any evil in this variety, so long as the truths of morality and religion are not contradicted. And even where we might, at first sight, suppose them to be so (as, for instance, in the case of fatalist opinions), we must be cautious of yielding to this impression. For piety has a transmuting power, and often turns the inconsistency of the understanding into food for the goodness of the heart. Therefore, instead of murmuring, we should rejoice when we see the same character of Christian Holiness manifested under diverse opinions. For Christianity, embraced under one form, might have been rejected under another. All cannot see through the same telescope, but different eyes require the tube to be variously adjusted. And the image formed will at best be blurred and dim, unless Charity furnish us with her achromatic lens, and blend all the rays into one harmonious brightness.

But is there then, it may be asked, no evil in the spirit of party? Are we preaching acquiescence in "our unhappy divisions" which are so often the subject of official lamentation? That be far from us. Strife and enmity are justly lamentable. But the mischief is not in variety of opinion, but in variance of heart; not in theological idiosyncracies, but in unscrupulous parti-

sanship. This last, the besetting sin of all parties, is most offensive in those which are contending for religion. And yet we fear that none is free from it. On the one side, if a renegade priest will make effective speeches against the Pope, and betray the secrets of the Church which he has deserted, the foulest scandals in his private life cannot shake the confidence of his admirers. On the other side, if a champion of ecclesiolatry is qualified by talents or position to render good service to his partisans, they will defend him though he be convicted of more than Jesuitical mendacity, or of sharp practice which would strike a provincial pettifogger off the rolls. It is not that men consciously resolve to become accomplices in immorality, but they wilfully shut their eyes to all evidence against their favourites, and bring in a verdict of not guilty before the trial has begun. In advocating mutual charity, we advocate no such toleration of wickedness. When meanness or hypocrisy is detected, let men give the largest scope to their indignation, the freest course to their invective. But let them not confine such treatment to rogues of the opposite party. Let them excommunicate the knaves of their own following. Let them be sure that a bad man cannot make a good Churchman, a good Puritan, or a good anything. And let them remember that it is a duty enforced upon us by the highest example, to expose the interior of whited sepulchres, however fair may be their outward seeming.

Nor would we desire them to spare even lighter faults than hypocrisy, and more harmless absurdities than falsehood. For no absurdity in religious men can be entirely harmless; nor can the follies of Pietism be altogether free from moral deformity. Hence it is the duty of a Christian to abate them as far as possible.

And this is the appropriate field for ridicule, which in theological argument is out of place. Its employment in this, its proper province, cannot lead to evil, provided we be careful not to forget our reverence for the reality in our contempt for the travesty. "Are some ridiculous," says one who spoke to a scoffing generation, "and for that will you turn religion into ridicule? If you do, it will at last turn a Sardonic laughter."*

But while we advocate the unsparing exposure of vice and folly, let us be careful to discountenance the use of unlawful weapons in the assault. Above all, let us disavow that tendency to settle theological quarrels by Lynch Law, which has lately disgraced our countrymen. If a clergyman is foolish, he may be laughed at; if he has introduced Popish rites and illegal ceremonies, he may be prosecuted in the courts of law. In either case, it is shameful to hound on the mob against him. Yet we grieve to say that this method of attack has been resorted to by men who profess to advocate freedom of conscience. We shall not be suspected of viewing the so-called "Exeter Synod" with any peculiar favour. Yet we could not learn without indignation that London agitators were stirring up the populace to interrupt its deliberations by violence. It is not long since we saw the congregation of a metropolitan church disturbed in their devotions by the outrages of a crew of ruffians, for the honour of Protestantism. And, only the other day, a clergyman was prevented from administering the Communion on New Year's Eve to some of his parishioners who wished to receive it, by a threat that if he attempted a "midnight mass" the communicants should be dispersed by violence.† This

* Archbishop Leighton's Sermon to the Parliament, 1669.

† This happened at Exeter, a place which was also disgraced by the noto-

is nothing less than religious persecution; and those who employ such poisoned weapons, will find their shafts recoil, sooner or later, upon themselves.

While civil discord thus convulses the Church, many of her children are falling away from her, and abandoning the distinctive doctrines of Christianity. We have already noticed the diffusion of infidel opinions among the lower classes; but the mischief is not confined to them. The highest ranks and most intelligent professions are influenced by sceptical opinions, to an extent which, twenty years back, would have seemed incredible. It is true that, as far as the Upper Classes are concerned, the last half century (taken as a whole) has been characterised by a reaction against the fashionable scepticism of the preceding age. But in England the tide turned ten or fifteen years ago, and the current is now running in the opposite direction. This state of things, as far as the Upper Classes are concerned, has been directly caused by the dissensions of the Church. "When doctors differ, who shall decide?" is the expression of an almost inevitable scepticism. These unnatural hostilities must cease, if we are ever to re-convert the Pagans of the factory, and the Pantheists of the forum. How, indeed, can we hope to move them, if we are unable to answer that most obvious retort of the unbeliever, "I will hearken, when you Christians can agree upon the lesson which you want to teach me."

rious "Surplice riots." The latter, however, had more apology, because they sprang from a feeling on the part of the laity that the clergy had no right, without lay consent, to introduce innovations into the service. No doubt the real remedy for these disorders, as for all the diseases of the Church (as we are forced so often to repeat), is to restore its true organisation, and give to all its members a legitimate voice in its government. They would then have less temptation to employ Lynch Law.

And how can we answer this, but by acknowledging a substantial unity of faith, and an absolute identity of holiness, in the midst of endless diversity of opinion? "Oh, what are the things we fight for," says Leighton, "compared with the great things of God!"* Surely it is time that we should agree to differ about Prævenient Grace and Surplice Preaching, and turn to the true battle which is raging round us; a battle not between Anglicans and Calvinists, nor even between Popery and Protestantism, but between Faith and Atheism. We believe that the end is sure, and that Truth will conquer. But who can say how many ages of defeat may precede that final victory?

* Leighton's Works, vol. iii. p. 480.

ECCLESIASTICAL ECONOMY.

JANUARY, 1854.

1. *A Bill to make better Provision for the Management of Episcopal and Capitular Estates.* (Brought in by the Marquis of Blandford and Captain Kingscote.) London: 1853.
2. *A Bill to amend the Law respecting Simony.* (Brought in by Dr. R. Phillimore and Viscount Goderich.) London: 1853.

THERE probably never was a year in which so many ecclesiastical subjects were brought before the notice of Parliament as in that which has just ended. The Session began in February with the great fight of the Clergy Reserves. It ended in August with the usual "massacre of the innocents," wherein the Colonial Church Bill, the Missionary Bishops Bill, and the Episcopal Estates Bill were stifled in a single week. Between these epochs both Houses were repeatedly occupied upon subjects connected with the temporalities of the Church. The law of Patronage was canvassed in two debates on Dr. Phillimore's Simony Bill; Lord Blandford's important measure for the better management of Church Property was several times before the House of Commons; a proposed amendment in the law of Church Rates furnished matter for an interesting discussion, and was supported in an able pamphlet by Lord Stanley; the assessment of Episcopal Revenues was brought before the House of

Lords by the Bishop of Salisbury; a Church Building Act was carried through the same House by Lord Harrowby; and a Cathedral Appointments Act was passed by the Government. These numerous measures are a proof that increasing interest is felt by the Legislature in a most important field of legislation. But the growth of knowledge has hardly kept pace with this growth of interest. Even those speakers and writers who aspire to guide public opinion occasionally show, by the extraordinary errors and misstatements into which they are betrayed, a surprising want of practical acquaintance with the most elementary facts relating to their subject. It is with the hope of contributing to the correction of such errors, that we devote the following pages to an examination of some questions in Ecclesiastical Economy which have lately been the theme of frequent argument, both in Parliament and in the Press; and, in connexion with these questions, to the consideration of certain schemes which have been suggested for effecting alterations in the Church Establishment.

In the first place, we may say a few words concerning the actual amount of the Ecclesiastical Revenues. It is strange that there is, as yet, no official document which enables us to state this with perfect accuracy. With regard to the Parochial Tithes and Glebe, which form the bulk of the property in question, the foundation of our knowledge is the "Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into Ecclesiastical Revenues," presented to Parliament in 1835, which gives the value of all the benefices so far as could be then ascertained. The returns, however, on which this Report was founded, were in some respects incomplete; and many additional benefices have been created since it was published. The best information now accessible on this subject is con-

tained in the annual "Clergy List," which gives an alphabetical catalogue of every living in England and Wales, with its annual value (founded mainly on the above-mentioned returns), its population, and the names of its officiating ministers. We have ascertained from this list that the estimated net annual value of the 12,270 benefices in England and Wales is 3,479,460*l*.* This sum is divided amongst 17,155 parochial ministers, including 4,885 curates.† The average income of the 12,270 incumbents is 283*l*. per annum.

A trifling addition is made to these funds by *surplice fees* and *Easter offerings*. The former amount to 5*l*. for a population of 1000, and consequently may be estimated at 90,000*l*. for the whole country, which at present contains a population of eighteen millions. The *Easter offerings* average 1*l*. for every thousand people, and therefore produce about 18,000*l*. in all.

* In the Clergy List for 1853, the number of benefices whose value is returned is 11,513; the number not returned is 757. The value of those returned is 3,264,260*l*.; and to this we have added a proportional sum for the 757 not returned, which will be 214,600*l*. This gives the total value mentioned in the text. It must be remarked, however, that in thus estimating the benefices not returned, we have much exaggerated their value. For 579 out of the 757 are new districts, and proprietary chapels endowed chiefly with pew-rents, and yielding an income much below the average. We thus leave a margin more than sufficient to cover any pew-rents which may have been omitted in the returns of 1835. We must also observe that the value of all Rectories and Vicarages has been reduced, since 1835, by the repeal of the Corn Laws. Thus a tithe-rent charge of the nominal value of 100*l*. (as fixed by the Commutation Act in 1836) only amounted to 91*l*. in 1853, and will be about 90*l*. when this is published in 1854. Hence the total above given is greater than the truth.

† We have ascertained the number of curates by adding together the number licensed in each diocese as given in Whitaker's Ecclesiastical Almanac for 1853. The total number of clergy in England and Wales, according to the Clergy List for 1853, is 18,350. Of these 17,155 would thus appear to be employed in parochial work; the remainder are either dignitaries, schoolmasters, chaplains, or retired from professional duties.

It must be remembered that the number of benefices and of clergymen here given, is not stationary, but continually increasing. In 1835, according to the Report of the Commissioners *, there were 10,718 benefices in England and Wales; there are now 12,270†, being an increase of 1,552 in 18 years‡, or nearly 100 per annum. The annual increase of late has been much more rapid than this. We find that the excess of ordinations over deaths among the clergy has been, during the last few years, about 300 per annum. Part of this increase is due to the additional curates supplied to populous districts by the "Pastoral Aid" and "Curates" societies: but it must be mainly referred to the creation of new parochial districts. This is evident, because the total number of curates is now less than it was in 1835, having then been 5,320, according to the Report of the Commissioners. While mentioning this, we cannot but call attention to the immense improvement indicated by the fact that in 1835 there were more than 4,000 curates of *non-resident* incumbents, and only 1,000 of resident incumbents; whereas there are now only 1,800 curates of

* First Report of the Commissioners on Ecclesiastical Revenues, 1835.

† In order to ascertain the number of benefices, and their aggregate value from the Clergy List, it is necessary to add up 245 closely-printed pages of figures, — a task which took the accountant whom we employed four days. We recommend the publishers of this useful work to give the totals, in future, at the foot of each page.

‡ According to Lord Blandford (speech, p. 29.), the new incumbencies formed under Sir Robert Peel's Act, and the Church Building Acts, have amounted only to 1,190. The remainder of the new benefices created since 1835, must (we suppose) have originated in the assignment of parochial districts (under 1 & 2 Will. 4. c. 38.) to new churches, or to chapels previously existing. But perhaps, the number 1,552 given in the text is rather beyond the real increase, because a few proprietary chapels, and a few benefices annexed by statutes to certain superior preferments, were omitted in the list of benefices given in the report of 1835, and are included in the "Clergy

non-residents, and more than 3,000 curates assisting resident incumbents. It must farther be remarked that the new benefices, while swelling the nominal revenues of the Church, are constantly lessening the average wealth of the clergy, being for the most part provided with the smallest possible endowment.

The above may suffice as a rough estimate of the Parochial Revenues of the Establishment. There remain the Episcopal and Capitular incomes, concerning which the information is perhaps more precise, but also more complicated, being derivable from various Reports of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and sundry Parliamentary Returns. It is not necessary, however, for our present purpose, to ascertain with precision the actual revenues of the existing bishops and chapters; for these are in a state of transition, some under the old law, some under the new. As our wish is to give an estimate of the permanent financial condition of the Establishment, we may neglect this state of transition, and suppose all these revenues to be upon the system under which, by the operation of the existing law, they will speedily fall. The Episcopal Fund will then be 152,300*l.* (as fixed by an order in council issued in 1853), charged with the maintenance of twenty-seven archbishops and bishops, Sodor and Man not being included. The Capitular Fund may be reckoned at a little under 212,000*l.** when the Act 3 & 4 Vict. c. 113. shall have taken full effect.

From the episcopal and capitular estates will also be

* Of this sum, the charge for deaneries is about 35,000*l.*, for canonries about 90,000*l.*, and the remainder is for minor canonries, choirs, organists, and repairs. But it is not worth while to dwell on details which will so soon be subjected to the revision of Parliament, on the Report of the Cathedral Commissioners.

obtained, when they are properly managed, a much larger income than they at present yield. This has been already affected to some extent; and Lord Blandford calculates that ultimately a surplus of 445,000*l.* a year, applicable to parochial purposes (including the payment of archdeacons), may be derived from this source. Perhaps this estimate may be too sanguine; but as our wish is not to understate the revenues of the Church, we will take it as correct. Thus we shall have from the estates in question a total income of 809,000*l.*, of which 364,000*l.* will be devoted to the support of bishops and dignitaries, and the remainder to parochial uses. Hence the whole clerical revenues, when they are improved to the utmost possible extent, may amount to 4,397,000*l.* per annum. At present they fall short of this, by about a quarter of a million.

In the ecclesiastical (though not in the clerical) revenues, we must also include the sum raised by church-rates, for the maintenance and repair of parochial churches. This amounted (according to a Parliamentary Return) to 506,812*l.* in the year 1839*; but since that time there has been no further return; but the amount has very greatly diminished, by the refusal of rates in many parishes.† The final judgment of the House of Lords in the Braintree case, which reverses the decisions of the courts of law whereby the minority was authorised to make a rate, will no doubt reduce still further the funds hitherto derived from this branch of income.

Such are the sources and the amount‡ of those re-

* Strictly speaking, only 363,103*l.* of this was derived from church-rates, and the remainder from other sources, *e. g.* local endowments.

† For details, see the article on *Vestries and Church-rates*, in the present volume.

‡ In this amount we have not included pew-rents as a separate item, but we have included them in the parochial revenues (see the first note on this

venues which have formed the subject of so much recent legislation and discussion. To show the degree of popular misapprehension which prevails concerning them, it may suffice to mention that one of the least violent and inaccurate writers against the Establishment, Mr. Allen, who has published a work on "State Churches" in the present year, reckons the revenues of the Church at *seven millions (!)*, and quotes other estimates which raise them to *nine millions (!)*. The extent of Mr. Allen's acquaintance with his subject may be estimated from the fact that he assumes the value of the glebe not to be included in the Commissioners' Report of 1835, and gives a conjectural valuation of it, which he *adds* to the net value of the benefices. The most superficial inspection of the Report would have shown that the glebe is included in it. The gross misstatements circulated concerning the ecclesiastical revenues show how desirable it is that accurate official returns should be published, as we trust they soon will be.

Concerning the future management of these revenues, schemes of all kinds have been broached, and opinions of all shades propounded, from those of Messrs. Peto and Miall, who wish to confiscate the funds of the Establishment altogether, to those of Sir R. Inglis, who trembles at the idea of altering the original appropriation of a sixpence. We shall not now enter into the great controversy between the advocates of the general principle of religious endowments, and the adherents of the (so-called) voluntary system. Those who have not been convinced by the reasoning of Dr. Arnold and Dr.

Article). It must not be forgotten, however, that they are simply voluntary contributions, and could not be transferred by Parliament; and that their existence is exceptional, and contrary to the theory of our Ecclesiastical Law.

Chalmers, are not likely to be moved from their opinion by any new arguments which we could adduce. But all honest* politicians, whichever side they take in this controversy, must agree in the proposition, that it is desirable, so long as ecclesiastical revenues are appropriated to their present purposes, to make them as efficient as possible in promoting the ends to which they are devoted. This proposition has been the basis of nearly all those proposals which have been lately advocated in Parliament. It has been assumed as the object of our Church reformers, to remove from the actual administration of ecclesiastical property every defect which tends to diminish the efficiency, or lower the character of the clergy, and (in the words of Lord Blandford's preamble) to "render such estates and revenues most productive and beneficial to the Established Church, and most conducive to the spiritual welfare of the people." To effect this end various methods have been recommended. Many measures of practical usefulness have been carried, others have been proposed, and more may be suggested. On the other hand, many mistakes have been committed, many useless nostrums prescribed, many falsehoods too eagerly swallowed by the public. The fundamental fallacy, whence most other errors have sprung, is a belief that the motives of the clergy would be made more pure, and their labours more effectual, by diminishing the wealth of the Establishment, and abolishing what are called (in the phraseology of Mammon) the "prizes" of the Church. "A poor and virtuous

* We say "honest politicians," for we cannot apply this epithet to those who avow their wish to keep up all the abuses of the Establishment, and to render it as inefficient for religious ends as possible, in the hope of disgusting the people with the principle of Establishment. This is surely to do evil that good may come.

clergy" is the watchword of a large and well-meaning party of ecclesiastical reformers, who suppose that clerical virtue and clerical poverty go together. We hope that we have in some degree contributed to dispel this delusion, by our recent description of the poorest, but certainly not the most virtuous section of the English hierarchy, the peasant clergy of the mountains. But before we go further, it will be well to say something more as to this excessive wealth attributed to the Church. We have just shown that its total amount is between four and five millions sterling; a sum which, though insignificant when compared with the resources of the country (being less than the produce of the income-tax of 7*d.* in the pound on the wealthy classes), is yet in itself a considerable revenue. But when we remember the numbers among whom it is divided, and that the average share of each is less than 300*l.* per annum, it cannot be considered a very exorbitant remuneration for the services of educated men; and we can scarcely agree with the "Times" that "the vast wealth of our Church is, in one sense, its greatest misfortune."* The emoluments of the parochial clergy, at all events, will not excite the envy of any well-paid bagman. It is true, that some of them have more than the above average dividend; and the "Times" tells us with horror that "the world hears of livings of 1000*l.* a year!"† But the shock which our minds receive at first hearing of an income so enormous as this, may perhaps be diminished by a little investigation. Let us take the case mentioned by the "Times" of one of these levithans of clerical opulence. Let us examine the actual receipts of a rector who scandalises the world by pocketing 1000*l.* per annum from the Church. In

* "Times," June 22. 1853.

† Ibid.

the first place, the repeal of the Corn Laws has caused a fall of 10 per cent. in the tithe rent-charge, so that a tithe-owner endowed with 1000*l.* a year of rent-charge now only receives 900*l.* This reduction, notwithstanding the present high range of prices, may not have yet reached its maximum ; but we will confine ourselves to the present state of things, and suppose our wealthy incumbent still to possess a clerical income of 900*l.* a year. From this are to be deducted the poor-rates, amounting to 130*l.* per annum ; the way rates, amounting to 15*l.* ; and the expenses of collection (at 3 per cent.), amounting to 30*l.** Moreover his parish being large (as it must be to yield so much tithe), he will generally be obliged to keep an assistant curate. In fact, we find from the Clergy List that for every three livings of 1000*l.* per annum, four curates are kept. Hence if we suppose only one required, we are below the average. This involves a further charge of 100*l.* a year upon his income. The above deductions bring down the rector's nominal 1000*l.* a year to an actual 625*l.* We must remember also that these charges on professional income fall upon the clergy alone. For example, the brother of our rector is judge of a county court, who has the same nominal income as the clergyman, viz. 1000*l.* per annum. But upon that income no rates are charged, and out of it he pays nothing for assistants. If there be more work in his district than one judge can do, two are appointed, and the salary of the second is not subtracted from the salary of the first. It is true, on the other hand, that the barrister has to pay house-rent, while the rector has only to keep his parsonage in repair. We may

* The deductions here given are those actually paid upon a tithe rent-charge of 1000*l.* in a case with which we are acquainted. The charge for poor-rates is taken on the average of the last seven years.

put this as a disadvantage against the barrister of 50*l.* per annum. Thus, while the net income of the rector is 625*l.*, that of the barrister will be 950*l.*, although their nominal incomes (and their income-tax) are the same. But the difference is in reality still greater than this. For the whole charities of an extensive parish require from the wealthy rector a liberal support. He must subscribe to the parochial friendly societies, to the lying-in-charity, to the coal charity, to the clothing-club, to the choristers, to the bell-ringers. He must maintain the national school (at an expense of 20*l.* or 30*l.* at the least) and must give largely to the relief of all the casual distress and permanent poverty by which he is surrounded. Besides this there are innumerable claims upon his purse, from institutions and societies for the promotion of various benevolent and religious objects, local, provincial, diocesan, and metropolitan. He must subscribe to the county hospital, the diocesan training-school, the Christian Knowledge Society, the Missionary Society, and the National School Society. Besides these necessary things, there will be voluntary offerings expected from him, dependent on his theological party. Meanwhile we had almost forgotten that he will annually be summoned to pay the *tenths* of his benefice to Queen Anne's Bounty Office; and that he will also be compelled to excuse several of his poorer parishioners from the payment of their tithes. If he be a man of average liberality, these various claims will subtract at the least another 100*l.* a year from his income. Meanwhile his legal brother discharges his conscience, and more than satisfies all expectations, by the disbursement of 10*l.* per annum in charitable donations. Thus our fortunate incumbent will have about 525*l.* of net income, out of which he must pay 29*l.* (the income-tax on 1000*l.*)

to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and congratulate himself that he has still nearly 500*l.* remaining for the maintenance of his household and the education of his family.*

Such is an accurate account of the professional receipts of the wealthiest among the parochial clergy. But, to appreciate “the vast wealth of our Church” as it deserves, it must be remembered that there are only 174 livings which amount to 1000*l.* a year; that there are only a thousand which amount to 500*l.* a year; and that out of the whole number of 12,270 benefices, more than 8000 are below 300*l.* a year. Hence two-thirds of the parochial incumbents receive less than 300*l.* per annum from their profession, and out of this they are often compelled, by the large population of their parishes, to

* *Note to the Second Edition.*—Since the above statement was published, it has been illustrated by the following, which appeared in the “Guardian” of Feb. 1. 1854:—

“The Rev. B. Bradney Bockett, Vicar of Epsom, supplies to a contemporary the following account of his tithe rent-charge, and the charges upon it.

My tithe rent-charge is apportioned at 346*l.* Its value for 1853 was 317*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.* From this deduct the following payments:—

	£	s.	d.
Poor-rates - - - -	-	40	11 11½
Highway-rates - - - -	-	11	1 5½
Church-rates - - - -	-	4	18 0
Board of Health - - - -	-	2	14 1
Lighting-rate - - - -	-	1	11 10
Income-tax - - - -	-	11	12 1
Land-tax - - - -	-	3	3 9
Tithe collector - - - -	-	16	6 0
Fire insurance - - - -	-	4	9 0
Life insurance (for dilapidations) [in lieu of repairs] -	-	20	15 0
Queen Anne's Bounty Payment - - - -	-	32	18 3
In aid of curate's stipend at a chapel for my distant poor	-	29	2 6

£179 3 11

You will observe that no reduction has been made for bad debts. Thus a rent-charge of 346*l.* is reduced to 138*l.* 1*s.* 7*d.*”

maintain an assistant; and below these there are nearly 5000 curates, whose salary does not average quite 100*l.* a year. If the clergy are not actually sunk in such poverty as this, it is because they possess, in most cases, a private fortune equal in amount to their professional income, and often far exceeding it.

But some will say that if the parochial clergy are too poor, the dignitaries of the Church are too rich; and that bishops, deans, and canons absorb the revenues which ought to be distributed among their more needy brethren. To this we may reply, in the first place, that the abolition of all these dignities would only put an additional 360,000*l.* a year at our disposal; and that, supposing this sum divided among the 13,000* clergy (incumbents and curates) whose income is below 300*l.*, it would only give each of them 27*l.* a year more than he has at present; an addition which would make no appreciable difference in their position. But again, we deny that the dignities of the Church are unreasonably endowed, as compared with the highest posts in other professions. The 28 † bishops and archbishops have incomes (under the new system) averaging 5000*l.* each. Now there are 22 judges in the Courts of Chancery, Queen's Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer, with average salaries of about 6000*l.* Moreover the number of barristers (as appears from the Law List of 1853) is below 4000; whereas the number of clergy is above 18,000. So that while more than four barristers in 1000 are elevated to the bench, scarcely more than one clergyman in 1000 attains the mitre. At present the Church and Bar are recruited from the same classes of society,

* Besides the 4,885 curates, there are 8,230 incumbents receiving less than 300*l.* a year; which makes 13,115 in all with less than 300*l.* a year.

† Including Sodor and Man.

by men who are subjected to the same education, and pass through school and college side by side. We do not see why we should grudge to the heads of one profession the position which no one grudges to the heads of the other.* But if the episcopal incomes are not unreasonably large, still less can the secondary dignities, the deaneries and canonries, be thought too highly endowed. The income of the deaneries is fixed for the future at an average of 1000*l.* each.† Under these are four canonries in each cathedral, averaging at present 600*l.* each. Besides these are 70 archdeacons, 8 of whom hold canonries, and the rest receive on the average only 150*l.* each. Compare these emoluments with those of masters in Chancery, bankruptcy commissioners, county court judges, and police magistrates, and we shall again find that the Bar has a great advantage, even in nominal emoluments, over the Church.

But to this it may be replied, that the prizes of the Bar are always given, if not to the worthiest, at any rate to the worthy; and that it is scarcely possible to bestow such patronage on a barrister totally incompetent; while, on the other hand, the high places of the Church have been too often filled by men who had no claim whatever except political connexion or personal servility. We must acknowledge the truth of this charge as applying to the past; and it fully accounts for the difference of feeling with which the dignities of the two professions are regarded by the public. But it should be remembered that if Church appointments have been

* If we compare another profession of similar education, that of Physic, we find (from Dr. Hope's statement in his *Life*) that a London physician in good second-rate practice makes 4000*l.* a year. The heads of the profession make much more.

† By 3 & 4 Vict. c. 113. Four deaneries are to have more than this, but six or seven others have at present less.

bad, it is the fault of the advisers of the Crown, and therefore the fault of the Parliament and of the nation, which has regarded such appointments not with indignation but with apathy. A better spirit is now aroused, and the appointments made during the last ten years have been, for the most part, highly creditable. There is every reason to hope that the improved tone of public opinion will continue to enlighten the conscience of cabinet ministers, and to purify the fountains of preferment.

But though it be granted that the dignities of the Church are not excessive either in number or in wealth, considered as the prizes of a secular profession, still it may be argued that the existence of such prizes interferes with the spiritual interests of the Church. It is well (it may be said) that the labours of the barrister, the soldier, or the physician should be animated by the hopes of wealth and the aspirations of ambition ; but the minister of religion should need no such earthly stimulants to rouse his sense of duty, and his zeal should be kindled at a holier altar than that of Mammon. We entirely sympathise in these sentiments, and freely acknowledge that if the abolition of the high offices of the Church would purify the motives of her ministers, or if, as a general rule, they were induced to enter their profession by the hope of rank and wealth, we should gladly instal Messrs. Bright and Horsman as Ecclesiastical Commissioners, with full powers to abate the redundant opulence of the hierarchy. But, if we examine the facts, we shall find that the supposed motives do not really influence the clergy to any appreciable extent. Much misapprehension has been caused on this subject by one of the cleverest of Sydney Smith's writings, his inimitable "Letters to Archdeacon Singleton." This, like all

his works, combines sparkling wit with clear-headed common sense; but the latter quality sometimes overleaps itself, and intrudes into regions where shrewdness is not the supreme arbiter of truth. Too much knowledge of the world may sometimes as far mislead a man as too little; the motives of the simple may be hidden from the crafty by their very craft; as a lighted candle in a man's hand will blind him to the stars in the heavens. Thus when Sydney Smith gauges the motives of eighteen thousand country clergymen by the standard measure which he would apply to three or four hundred London barristers, his knowledge of the world does not save him from showing an ignorance of human nature. He starts with an assumption that the clergy are induced to take Orders by the hope of gaining high preferment. They are all competitors in a game of chance, where the blanks are curacies and the prize a mitre. "The whole income of the Church," he says, "if equally divided, would be about 250*l.* for each minister. Who would go into the Church, and spend 1200*l.* or 1500*l.* on his education, if such were the highest remuneration he could ever look to? At present men are tempted into the Church by the prizes of the Church."* And he compares this to the case of the Bar, where "each man hopes to be a Scarlett or a Brougham, and takes out his ticket in a lottery where the mass must infallibly lose, trusting to his good fortune, and believing that the prize is reserved for him, disappointment for others. So it is with the Clergy."† And again he says: "By the old plan of paying by lottery, not only do you obtain a parochial clergy upon much cheaper terms, but from the gambling propensities of human nature, and the irresistible tendency to hope that they shall gain the

* First Letter to Singleton.

† Ibid.

great prizes, you tempt men into your service who keep up their credit and yours not by your allowance, but by their own capital." . . . "If I was writing in gala and parade, I would not hold this language; but we are in earnest, and on business. . . . We must get down at once to the solid rock, without heeding how we disturb the turf and the flowers above."* Thus it appears that the "solid rock" on which the Church is founded, is the love of money, which has erroneously been called *the root of all evil*. This is surely the most original of all the manifold interpretations of that controverted text, *Super hanc petram ædificabo ecclesiam meam*.

Now, we freely own that if this were a true representation of the Establishment, we should be exceedingly inclined to echo the battle-cry of Dissent, "Down with her, down with her, even unto the ground." But it requires only a slight acquaintance with the ordinary specimens of clerical humanity, to show that Sydney Smith's view is founded on exceptional instances. We must, indeed, take his word for it, that he was himself actuated by the motives which he describes; and we may acknowledge that a certain number of able and ambitious men, in every generation, are brought into the ministry of the Church by similar calculations. But this number is very small, in comparison with those who are attracted by influences wholly different. The prizes in a lottery can excite the hopes of those only who have taken the tickets; and the ticket-holders in Smith's ecclesiastical lottery must necessarily be few. In other words, the great majority of clergymen are ordained with the full knowledge that they cannot by possibility obtain any of the higher dignities. These prizes, so far as

* Third Letter to Singleton.

they are "open to competition" at all, are open only to those who are qualified to compete for them by literary distinction, or by aristocratic connexion. Men who possess either of these qualifications, may be suspected of entering the Church for the sake of its deaneries and bishoprics. But how many are these, out of the 18,000 clergymen of England? If we said that one in twenty thought himself possessed of such claims, that he would be disappointed if he passed through life without gaining an ecclesiastical dignity, we should greatly exaggerate the number. We cannot doubt, if we look at facts, that the great mass of the existing clergy entered upon their profession with a full knowledge of their prospects. They originally expected and calculated on that lot which they have subsequently obtained.

No doubt, however, Sydney Smith is right in his assertion, that the actual income derived by the majority of clergymen from their profession, is a motive quite inadequate to explain their adopting such a line of life. He says, truly, that the money spent on their education might have been more profitably invested in trade. And he farther calls attention to the remarkable fact (which he was the first to point out), that the average private fortune of the clergy exceeds their professional income. He takes seven clergymen promiscuously, in his own neighbourhood, and finds that the aggregate of their permanent income, from private sources, amounts to about the same as the aggregate of their clerical income from church preferment. We have ourselves made a similar estimate, and found that in twelve adjacent parishes, the total ecclesiastical income of the incumbents was 4,200*l.*, and the total private income 6,400*l.* And we believe, that it would be found generally, that Sydney Smith's calculation underrates the usual proportion of a

clergyman's private to his professional resources. In order to form a rough estimate of the real circumstances of the case, let any one look round his neighbourhood, and observe how few of the clergy can be considered as living at the rate of less than 500*l.* a-year. Yet such an expenditure would (as we have seen) be about double the average professional income of a clergyman. Thus the clergy, while poor as a profession, are rich as a class; a fact, which goes far to account for the popular notions of "the vast wealth of the Church." The advantages derived from this state of things are obvious to all men. We see them, wherever we go, in ruined parsonages rebuilt, new churches raised, old churches restored, school-rooms erected and endowed, and rich and poor knit together by ties of kindness, which exemplify "the mutual help and comfort which the one ought to have of the other." Sydney Smith declares that the wealth of these capitalists is attracted into the service of the Church on the "lottery" principle, by "the gambling propensities of human nature, and the irresistible tendency to hope that they will gain the great prizes." But this is a palpable mistake; for the clergymen of private fortune are the very men who have (as a general rule) neither expectation nor wish for "the great prizes;" and the real competitors for these rewards, the literary men, the controversialists, and the partisans, have usually little or no private fortune.

But if we reject this "gambling" theory, we are bound to assign some other and more probable motives, which may explain the fact that so large a number of men annually devote themselves to a profession so ill remunerated. Nor shall we attempt to maintain that the great mass of the clergy adopt their calling from

motives of heroic self-sacrifice. Those who are ordained in the spirit of apostles are necessarily few, because human nature does not produce heroes or saints in crops; such visitants come to us "not in battalions, but as single spies." A modern writer, who cannot be suspected of exaggeration in favour of the Church, estimates these apostolic clergymen as "one in fifty;" and says that, rare as they are, yet their life exhibits a self-devotion so noble, "that they are not only enough for the salt of their class, but for the salt of the world too."* In the next degree to these, we may reckon no inconsiderable number (especially among those ordained in middle life) who have sought in the service of religion a remedy for sorrow. They hope to sweeten the bitterness of their lot, by giving themselves wholly to the duties of benevolence and devotion. To preach glad tidings to the poor, to heal the broken-hearted, to shed light upon the darkness of the dying, seems to them the happiest destiny for a wounded spirit. Their imagination responds to the words of the clerical poet, who sings the soothing influence of ministerial duties: —

" The herbs we seek to heal our woe
Familiar by our pathway grow,
Our common air is balm."

Others again there are of shrinking and sensitive natures, who seek refuge in a sacred calling from the unsatisfying turmoil and hard-hearted selfishness of the world. They yield to the same impulse which drove so many of kindred disposition from the rough struggle of mediæval life into the shelter of the cloister. They imagine that they can escape from the strife of tongues

* Froude's *Nemesis*, p. 7.

by flying to the altar of God; though they often find, too late, that where they fled for peace they have rushed into a battle-field. More numerous than any of these classes are those who enter the profession because their unambitious temper finds in it an appropriate sphere for the exercise of moderate talent and ordinary energies. If they are animated by no vocation to a life of apostolic labour, yet they intend to do their duty to the flock which shall be committed to their charge. Without renouncing the prospect of happiness for themselves, they think also of contributing to the happiness of others. They indulge, it may be,

“In moonlight dreams
Of love and home by mazy streams;”

visions of the “domus et placens uxor;” of the snug parsonage and cheerful fireside; of smooth lawns and trellised roses, mingle in their ideal of the future. But with such fancies are blended less selfish pictures of new school-buildings filled with peasant children; of shivering paupers clothed and comforted; of cottages made glad with Christmas dinners; of wine and oil poured into the wounds of poverty. Such candidates for ordination look forward to a routine of kindly and useful, if not laborious duties, with a respectable position in society, and a small addition to their private fortune. Many of them, moreover, being themselves the sons of clergymen, have the additional inducement of habitual association and hereditary connexion to tempt them into the profession of their fathers.

Such are the motives which, acting either separately or in combination, and often mingled in undistinguishable proportions one with another, impel so many thou-

sands of educated men into the ministry of the Church. And if these fall short, as no doubt they do, of the ideal standard of Christian zeal, and of that necessity to preach the Gospel which was laid upon a Paul or a Bernard, yet we must remember that it is the wisdom of those who establish or maintain national institutions, to avail themselves of the ordinary laws of human nature, not to look for exceptional manifestations. The utmost which the State can demand of its officers is a life not of heroism, but of usefulness.

But though we deny that the clergy generally are influenced by motives so low and selfish as those ascribed to them by Sydney Smith, we admit that there is a small minority actuated, if not by the "gambling" spirit which he advocates, yet by views equally secular, and calculations even more definitely sordid. To this minority belong not only some active and ambitious men, who possessing ability sufficient to make themselves valuable in any profession, are called to the Church in the same spirit in which they would be called to the Bar; but many of an inferior class, whose aim is to rise without any merit at all, and whom the world designates as *clerical adventurers*. First and most conspicuous is the *Irish Fortune-hunter*, who after getting ordained in Tipperary, and serving his two years as curate among his native bogs, impatiently rushes across the Channel to seek his destined prey. He promptly advertises in the "Record" for a "town sphere of usefulness," and is at length appointed assistant to the minister of a chapel in some wealthy borough, the seat of manufactures or commerce. If his face and figure aid the fascinations of his tongue, he soon wins the idolatry of his fairer hearers, and ends by marrying the richest

widow in his congregation. Next we have the *Creeping Climber*, who begins life as a servitor at Oxford, with a firm determination to die a bishop; and by dint of tuft-hunting and time-serving, succeeds in crawling slowly but surely, if not to the pinnacle of the temple, at least to a snug harbour among its battlements. Then there is the *Renegade Dissenter*, perhaps the most offensive specimen of this offensive class. He is the son of a small tradesman in a country town, and being a clever lad, is patronised by the independent minister, and educated by assistance from a non-conformist charity fund. In due time he becomes himself a dissenting preacher, and saves enough out of the small gains of his profession to pay for his academical course at St. Bees. Thus qualified, he renounces his hereditary faith, takes orders in the Church, becomes hyper-orthodox in his opinions, and cuts his father who adheres to their patrimonial creed. He of course distinguishes himself by extreme violence against the sectarians whom he has deserted, and publishes tracts against schism, and dialogues defensive of the Establishment. Thus perhaps he commends himself to the notice of some weak and well-intentioned patron; and obtains the wages of apostasy in the shape of a paltry benefice and a trifling rise in social rank. Finally there is the *Society's Agent*, who spends his life in a perpetual tour, speechifying every day at some new place, and dining afterwards upon venison and claret with the chairman of the meeting. When he has employed five years in this way, he must have formed so large an acquaintance with influential people, that it is strange if none of them is induced to provide for so good a man; especially as they are not likely to know that he has been thrice insolvent, and has ruined a whole army of small tradesmen who served

him in the curacies where he ministered before commencing his itinerant career.*

We do not shrink from painting these consecrated speculators in their true colours, nor from acknowledging that they deserve all the reprobation which is poured upon them by the enemies of the Church. But we must remember that they are by no means the peculiar product of a dignified Establishment. They are incidental to every method of providing for the ministration of public worship and its functionaries, and are at least as common a fruit of the "voluntary principle" as of State endowment. Any one who doubts this has only to examine into the working of the unendowed system in the United States of America. Indeed, there needs but little knowledge of human nature to convince us that, so long as there are ministers of religion at all, there must be some mercenary ministers. Even among the Presbyters converted by St. Paul and ordained by Timothy, there were those who made a gain of godliness.

The only peculiar product of an opulent State Church is the *Safe Man*, who if a species of the mercenary genus at all, is its least disgusting and most decorous type. He is usually distinguished in early life by academical success, which forms the appropriate basis of his subsequent career. When he has entered on the business of maturer years, he seldom ventures upon the dangerous experiment of authorship; or, if he choose that mode of launching himself upon the notice of the world, he commits himself to nothing by his publication; but edits a "Father" without controversial notes, or publishes a volume

* We ought to state that we by no means intend this for a description of agents of religious societies in general. Most of them are worthy men, many of them are eminently excellent; but we are here speaking of exceptional cases, and some few of these agents are the vilest of the vile.

of sermons, polished in style, and neutral in sentiment. He carefully shuns the violence of partisanship, and shrinks with horror from extreme opinions, aspiring above all things to the character of a sound and moderate divine. Thus he steadily rises in reputation, and the general favour which he attracts advances him in due time to an archdeaconry, a professorship, a London rectory, a college headship, or some other ecclesiastical stepping stone. In the execution of his office he is regulated by the old monastic rule "*Bene loqui de superioribus, fungi officio taliter qualiter, et sinere mundum ire sicut vult mundus ire.*" He does his duty in the way which best falls in with the standard of opinion in his time ; and therefore, in the present time, he will do it well, but not too well. He never originates a reform in any established institution ; yet he has no superstitious dislike of innovation, and if he sees that a change must come, he is quite willing to swell the triumph and partake the gale. He never wilfully makes an enemy ; and if as he rises, he finds it absolutely needful to drop a friend, it does it with decency ; not cutting his earlier connexions, like the vulgar climber, but gradually loosening their hold upon him, and letting them slip down the stream, so that he seems rather deserted by them than deserting them ; for in all his actions he is distinguished by a sense of the plausible and becoming. He marries, as he preaches, prudently ; and in the whole of his well-ordered life (though his prosperity may attract the assaults of envy) there is no point on which calumny can effectually fasten. At last his virtue is rewarded by the highest honours of his profession ; and when the expected mitre descends upon his head, every one acknowledges that it would have been impossible for the Premier to make a "safer" appointment. He carries his ruling

principle with him to the bench, and whether charging or speaking, preaching or voting, he is the "safest" bishop in the House of Lords,—"*His armis illâ quoque tutus in aulâ.*" It is the grand aim of his episcopate that no man of any party may say that he would be "dangerous" at Lambeth. If he provides for his family by his patronage, it is moderately and discreetly; from flagrant jobbery he is restrained, not merely by the fear of public censure but by gentlemanly feeling; for with all his foibles, he is still a gentleman. When at length he is laid beside his predecessors beneath the altar of his cathedral, all men must confess that his career, if it has conferred no splendid benefits on his country, has at least been serenely soothing and tranquillising to the Church. If he has done harm, it is by the omission of good, not by the perpetration of mischief.

By the abolition of the "prizes" of the Church, we might (it is true) eliminate the class which we have just described. The *safe man* would become an extinct variety of the clerical genus. But his place in the creation would be supplied by a degraded type. Fortune-hunters of the lower and baser kinds would swarm into existence, who would add vulgarity to worldliness, and servility to ambition. On the other hand, by such a revolutionary proceeding, the nation would lose many advantages inseparably connected with the present system.

In the first place, if the bishoprics were reduced to an apostolic poverty, and deprived of their temporal rank and influence, the bishops would be tempted to make up for this diminution of their importance by lofty claims of sacerdotal power. We see this result in Scotland, where nearly all the bishops are Tractarians. And even in America, notwithstanding the power of the laity in

the Episcopal Church, and the anti-sacerdotal tendencies of the democratic spirit, many of the bishops have embraced the same opinions, and one of them has ended by joining the Church of Rome.

A different but not less serious evil would result from the suppression of cathedral dignities, which is a still more favourite project with many of our Church reformers than even the abasement of Prelacy. In this, as in most other cases, the thing needed is not demolition but reconstruction. The cathedrals, it must be admitted, have not hitherto been so useful as they might have been; but considered in their design and their capabilities, they are essential parts of a well-organised Establishment. It is a sufficient refutation of their wholesale denouncers to quote the judgment of Dr. Chalmers, given during the last year of his life before a Committee of the House of Commons, in the following words:—"To such a degree am I in favour of ecclesiastical sinecures, that I should be glad to have them in our own [the Free] Church." "There should be a certain number of persons of learning, maintained at leisure and endowed, for the purpose of contributing to theological literature." In the same passage he calls the alienation of cathedral property to parochial purposes "a vulgarising process."* Such was the opinion of a man who was above all men most exempt from the temptation of exaggerating the usefulness of cathedral as compared with parochial endowments, since his whole life was spent in developing the powers of the parochial system, and since he held the parochial ministry to be the one essential function of a Church.

But the worst mischief to be feared from erasing the

* Life of Chalmers, vol. iv. p. 600.

inequalities of the Establishment by a levelling process, would be the effect of such a measure in repelling from the Church a large proportion of those classes from which she now derives her most serviceable recruits. We have seen how many of the clergy bring into their profession a larger income than they derive from it ; and we have endeavoured to show that Sydney Smith was mistaken in his assertion that they were allured by the attraction which the "prizes of the Church" held out to "the gambling propensities of their nature." Nevertheless we believe him to be right in supposing that if these prizes were removed, the great majority of such men would be repelled. For if the outward *prestige* and splendour of the Establishment were thus destroyed, it would soon lose the reputation of being a "gentlemanly" profession, which it now enjoys ; it would sink to the condition of the Presbyterian Kirk in Scotland, a body which is recruited almost exclusively from the lower ranks of society, and which consequently does not exercise that influence over the higher and more educated classes which ought to belong to a national establishment. The increase of the social rank and influence of the English clergy in the last hundred years is a very curious phenomenon, and its causes have not hitherto been satisfactorily explained. Mr. Macaulay, it is true, has shown that at the time of the Revolution the extreme poverty of the benefices accounts for the low standing of the parochial clergy ; that poverty preventing them, under the circumstances of the time, from obtaining a decent education. And we lately endeavoured to illustrate his view, by showing that the actual condition of the Mountain clergy, whose circumstances approach most nearly to those which then existed, still presents the same features which he describes. But it

would be a great mistake to infer from this that the increased value of ecclesiastical property accounts for the immense change in the position of the clergy. The cause is quite disproportionate to the effect. It is true that the value of the tithe has increased in a more rapid proportion than that of the rent, so that where the income of the parson would have been a twentieth of the income of the squire in Charles the Second's time, it is now a twelfth of it. But it is still not such, in nine cases out of ten, as to secure the services of a gentleman. This is evident when we recollect that (not to mention the 5000 curates) the income of 8000 incumbents is below 300*l.* a year, that is, not half the ordinary salary of a banker's head clerk. Nor again is it any explanation of the phenomenon in question to say that it results from the improvement of the clergy in refinement and intelligence; for this very improvement depends in great measure on the wealth of those classes from which the Church is recruited; inasmuch as the preliminary training at public school and university is a very expensive luxury, as many fathers can testify. The real cause which has poured so many recruits of higher standing into the ranks of the clergy, is to be found in the great increase (if it should not be rather called the creation) of a class which scarcely existed two hundred years ago, the *upper-middle* class of English society. If we travel from London, or any other great town, into the country, we pass hundreds upon hundreds of houses whose look tells us that they must be occupied by families with incomes ranging from 500*l.* to 1500*l.* a year.* As the wealth of England has grown, these households have become more numerous, year by year; and with the

* The returns to the Income Tax furnish a more exact mode of ascertaining the great and increasing numbers of this class.

growth of civilisation and intelligence, their wealth has enabled them to procure a better and better education. The sons of such families now form the majority of the English clergy. The motives which lead these men into orders we have already endeavoured to explain. And it is easy to see the causes which would neutralise these motives if the revolutionary proposals which we are discussing were carried into effect. Those among them who are urged to the work of evangelists by apostolic zeal, would still embrace the sacred calling; but the greater part would probably shrink from a profession which would then be stigmatised as plebeian by the vulgar rich; and, at all events, their parents and guardians would discourage them from entering it. Every one whose acquaintance extends beyond the Tweed is aware how reluctantly a Scotch country gentleman would see his son become a Presbyterian minister. It would be difficult to exaggerate the injury inflicted on the State, by the repulsion of the most educated and influential clergy from the Church.

In exchange for this public loss, the gain sought by the advocates of ecclesiastical equality is the improvement of small livings and the relief of indigent curates. We have already shown that, by confiscating the episcopal and capitular revenues, they might raise the income of those clergy who have less than 300*l.* a year by 27*l.* a-piece. We suppose that every one would admit the uselessness of such a paltry augmentation. But perhaps there may be some who would prefer to leave the poor incumbents in their poverty, and bestow the fruits of confiscation upon the still poorer curates. They may urge that 360,000*l.* divided among the 4,885 curates would give above 70*l.* to each. And they might justly consider it worth an effort to raise the remuneration

ration of these labourers from 100*l.* to 170*l.* per annum, on the assumption that they are doomed to continue for life in their present post. So strange is the ignorance prevalent on ecclesiastical subjects, that there are doubtless many who believe this to be the case. In popular works of amusement we find it often assumed that curates are a race of clerical helots, who never rise, except by some wonderful stroke of fortune, to the condition of their masters. A recent article in "The Times," confirms this impression as follows: "It is by the merest chance in the world that a curate is ever anything else than a curate, or that he ever receives more than the highest prize of his class, a house and 120*l.* a year."* It would be exactly as true to say "it is by the merest chance in the world that a midshipman is ever anything else than a midshipman." The cases are precisely parallel. Every vicar and rector, canon, dean, and bishop in the Church, was originally a curate, unless he happened to be fellow of a college when he was ordained. Either a curacy or a fellowship is a necessary prerequisite to ordination, for no one can be ordained at once to a benefice. It is true that there are men to be found who never rise beyond a curacy; as there are grey-headed midshipmen occasionally to be seen in the navy. But the former case is quite as rare as the latter; promotion is the rule, non-promotion the exception, in both professions. Out of the 4,885 curates now in England, we much doubt whether there are 400 to be found above the age of fifty; and of these, some are men of fortune who remain curates from choice; and nine in ten of the remainder are kept down by their own demerit. So far from curates forming a separate "class" (as "The Times" calls them), they share in all the in-

* "Times," June 22. 1853.

terests and opinions, sympathies and prejudices, of their beneficed brethren. We have no doubt that Sydney Smith is perfectly correct when he says that "if you were to gather a parliament of curates, on the hottest Sunday in the year, after all the services, sermons, burials, and baptisms of the day were over, and to offer them such increase of salary as would be produced by the confiscation of the cathedral property, they would reject the measure."*

But does not the existence of these rich prizes in the Church encourage an avaricious spirit in the clergy? The best answer to this question is another: Are the clergy, taken as a body, distinguished for avarice? We suppose the universal answer would be, that they are generally remarkable for qualities the reverse of this—for ignorance of the world, unbusiness-like habits, and liability to imposition. Faults and follies they have in abundance; bigotry, prejudice, and narrowness of mind, have been clerical failings from time immemorial; but no one can justly accuse them of grasping rapacity. On this point we might call in the evidence of the London beggars, who are attracted to every man in a black coat and white neckcloth, by an instinctive knowledge that he belongs to a class which they have the right to victimise. Or, again, we might quote the testimony of her Majesty's School Inspectors to the fact that if the poor in the country districts are educated at all, it is mainly at the expense of the clergyman. But a more general and striking proof has lately been given of the pecuniary disinterestedness of this profession. In the year

* We read this sentence of Sydney Smith's the other day to a gentleman who has remained a curate for the unusually long period of ten years. "Reject it!" he exclaimed, "to be sure we should, by ninety-nine voices out of a hundred."

1836, the income of the parochial clergy was commuted into a rent-charge, which was fixed for ever at the same number of bushels of corn. Within ten years occurred the repeal of the corn laws. By the combined effect of both measures, the income of the clergy was inevitably reduced, without the possibility of any compensation, such as they might have had under the old law, from the effects of improved cultivation. Mr. Cobden, in a letter to a clergyman, published (if we remember rightly) in 1848, stated that "he had always said that the clergy would be the only ultimate losers by the repeal of the corn laws;" but advised them nevertheless not to oppose a measure so beneficial to their fellow countrymen "for the sake of increasing their own luxuries." This advice (whatever we may think of its author's taste) was substantially wise and right. Before he gave it, however, the clergy had already adopted the disinterested course which he recommended; for neither before nor since the repeal of the corn laws was there any clerical agitation, nor a single clerical petition, against the measure. We do not believe that any other class would have borne so quietly a change which so largely mulcted their professional income.

But it may be said that, although the general body of the clergy is free from the imputation of avarice, yet the holders of the great dignities and lordly sees are led astray by the deceitfulness of riches. And the ruthless onslaught lately made upon two of the bishops, for alleged misappropriation of Church funds, by the chief organ of the press, has tended to fix this opinion in the public mind. We may admit that no method could have been devised more certain to lead to injurious consequences than that adopted by Parliament in 1836* (now

* By 6 and 7 Will. 4. c. 77.

happily abandoned) for the regulation of episcopal incomes. It was intended that the bishops should receive a certain salary, and it was enacted that they should pay over a fixed sum (the supposed surplus of their revenue over that intended income) to the Ecclesiastical Commission. The Commissioners underrated the value of the sees of Durham and Salisbury, and assessed them at so low a payment that the two bishops have received an income much larger than Parliament had intended. But this assessment, once made, could not (until the recent change in the law) be legally altered in the lifetime of the respective bishops. The surplus, though erroneously given them, was their legal property. The charge against them is that they did not at once hand over this surplus to the Commissioners. But it must be remembered that their income was fluctuating, and that they knew not whether the surplus of one year might not be cancelled by the deficit of the next. It might well have happened (as it did in Egypt) that seven fat years should be swallowed up by seven lean. We may wish, indeed, that when experience showed a continued surplus, these prelates had presented it to the public, instead of spending it (as they did) upon the charities of their own dioceses. But it is a calumnious exaggeration to say, as their assailants have said, that because they failed to show this degree of liberality, they were guilty of conduct "which would exclude a merchant from the Stock Exchange."* We admit, however, that the former method of fixing the episcopal incomes produced bad effects, and exposed the bishops to the suspicion, if not to the temptation, of avarice. But we must remember that the system censured belongs to the past, and has

* These were the words of Mr. Peto in the House of Commons, May 26. 1853, and were echoed by "The Times," June 21.

been superseded by the assignment of fixed payments to future prelates. We have already endeavoured to show that the incomes so given cannot be considered inordinate, when compared with the standard of other professions. We may add that munificent donations to all religious and charitable objects are expected from the bishops, both by their own dioceses and by the public; and that such expectations are hardly ever disappointed.

We have thus attempted to expose the fallacies involved in some popular schemes of Church reform. But we are far from thinking that no reform is needed in our ecclesiastical economy. Much indeed has been done during the last twenty years, but more remains to do. It is gratifying, however, to see every indication that the changes still required are now likely to be effected with less hesitation than formerly. The feeling of Parliament on these subjects responds to the wishes of the public, and is ready to welcome every well considered project of improvement. The measure which has attracted most notice among those recently brought forward, is that of Lord Blandford, which stands at the head of our article. We observed with great satisfaction the general assent given by all parties in the House of Commons to the principle of this Bill. Its object is to relieve the bishops and other dignitaries in future to be appointed, from the management of their estates, and to place the property under the administration of the "Estates Commissioners," who are empowered to apply the surplus, after paying the dignitaries in question, towards the parochial necessities of the Church, as they may judge most expedient.* It has been objected to

* See clauses 15. and 17. of the Bill.

this measure that it gives to the three Estates Commissioners powers too great to be wielded by so small a body of officials. But this we regard as one of the most valuable features of the Bill. It does in fact create a rudimentary *department of ecclesiastical affairs* ; but with this advantage over a ministerial department, that the board would be independent of all party influence, its members being appointed for life. The small number of the board is also a recommendation, because it secures their acting with a due sense of individual responsibility. We should see the adoption of this measure with peculiar pleasure, because it is obviously a step towards the re-establishment of some instrument of Church government intermediate between Parliament and the clergy. We have from time to time taken occasion to point out how much such an instrument is needed. Its best form would be a body of representatives (whereof not less than half should be laymen), elected by the members of the Church of England. This might retain the ancient name, without the defects, of Convocation. The changes ratified by such an assembly would command greater confidence than if they were decreed by Downing Street. But the form of such a council matters little, compared with its functions. Some organ of the kind is absolutely necessary, both to prepare Church measures for the sanction of Parliament, and to superintend their execution. Till it exists, there can be no thorough reform in our ecclesiastical machinery.

One of the earliest objects of the attention of such a board, whether created by Lord Blandford's Bill or by any other plan, ought to be the education of the poorer clergy. The existing means provided for this object are wholly inadequate. The Mountain clergy, though their need is the greatest, are not the only section of the

profession which suffers from the same deficiency. Probably few persons are aware of the very rapid increase of the non-academic clergy during the last few years. We have ascertained that, in 1851, the total number of deacons ordained was 573, and the total increase of clergy (*i. e.* the excess of ordinations over deaths) was 295. Again, in 1852, the number ordained was 607, and the net increase of clergy 320.* In each year, nearly two-thirds of the increase consisted of men who had neither been at Oxford nor Cambridge. Thus the Church is being rapidly recruited with ministers who are destitute of the moral and social advantages (which are worth far more than the intellectual advantages) of academic life. It is true, that a few among the number enjoy these advantages at Durham, and in a less perfect degree at Lampeter†; but from the rest they are wholly withheld. This is a state of things which ought not to continue. It is doubtless most important to create and endow new parishes; but it is equally important that the ministers provided for such parishes should not disgrace themselves in the eyes of their parishioners by incompetence or vulgarity. At present the education of the national schoolmasters, trained at St Mark's and Kneller Hall, is incomparably better than that obtained by three-fourths of the non-academic clergy.

The need of a regular provision for this novel state of things is shown by a phenomenon peculiar to the pre-

* In 1851, the new deacons were 202 of Cambridge, 201 of Oxford, and 170 of neither. In 1852, they were 232 of Cambridge, 204 of Oxford, and 171 of neither. We have compiled these returns from the lists of ordinations given in the Ecclesiastical Gazette.

† The recommendation given in a former article for conferring extended privileges on Lampeter has been since adopted (at least in part) by the Government. We have acknowledged on a former occasion the benefits conferred upon the northern districts by the noble foundation at Durham.

sent day. Colleges for the education of this new class of clergy are established, not by public authority, but by private adventure. A clergyman begins by taking a few pupils, whom he prepares for ministerial functions, by a course of parochial visiting, and "Pearson on the Creed." After a time he persuades a bishop to ordain one or two of these pupils without requiring them to take a university degree. The next step is to call his parsonage "the College of St. Ignotus," and to advertise it in the newspapers as a new theological seminary. If a good-natured bishop will consent to be nominated as "visitor," the scheme is complete. Candidates for cheap ordination flock to the halls of St. Ignotus; the projector dubs himself Provost, Warden, or President; and a self-created dignitary is added to the Church. We do not say that this is always done from unworthy motives; it may be well to supply an urgent need even by irregular means. But the wants of the Church ought to be met by the deliberate and collective action of her official authorities, not left to the chance-medley of individual speculation. *

Another reform demanded by the interest of these poor candidates for the ministry, is the abolition of the enormous ordination fees now exacted by bishop's secretaries. The solicitor who acts in this capacity supplies every clergyman ordained with a small piece of parchment, sealed with the bishop's seal, and called a "letter of orders." Before the end of his first twelvemonth, the young curate must pay from 7*l.* to 10*l.* †, (*i. e.* about a tenth of his year's salary) for a couple of these docu-

* To prevent misconception, it may be well to state that the above description does not apply exclusively to any single Institution, but includes the features of several.

† The charge varies in different dioceses; in that of Worcester it is (or

ments, including his licence. These charges admit of no justification, and answer no end but to enrich the solicitors aforesaid, who are continually extorting fees from the poorer clergy, on every available pretext. The letters of orders ought to be gratuitously given by the bishop, whom they would cost, perhaps, a shilling a-piece. Indeed, we think it questionable whether the ordination fees are not illegal under the Act 31 Eliz. c. 6., which imposes penalties on those who take or pay money for ordination. Of course no blame attaches in this matter to individuals who have only adopted a system long established; but the sooner the practice is discontinued the better.

Akin to this abuse is the extravagant sum abstracted from public purposes by the fees and salaries of the solicitors who act as secretaries and officers of the Boards of Queen Anne's Bounty and the Ecclesiastical Commission. It should be remembered that these funds, being devoted to the relief of spiritual destitution, are peculiarly sacred; and it is a painful spectacle to see London attorneys fattening on ecclesiastical famine.*

Another important branch of our present subject was lately brought before Parliament by a Royal Commis-

was very recently) 9*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.* for the two letters of orders and the licence; in the adjoining diocese of Hereford it is 7*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.* for the same. No reason can be assigned for these variations.

* [Note to the Second Edition] Since the above was published, we are glad to see that this grievance has been brought before Convocation. We read in the Report of the Session of Feb. 8. 1855, that "Archdeacon Allen presented a schedule of gravamen, stating that Queen Anne's Bounty-office, being supported by compulsory payments from the benefices of the country, ought to give full information, year by year, of the appropriation of its grants. That Trinity Church, Shrewsbury, with a poor population of 2,500, and an income of 150*l.* per annum, failed in 1854 to get aid for building a parsonage house. That in 1853, twenty-five money payments having been made at one time from a charitable fund in Lichfield diocese for augmentation of

sion, whose report has perhaps attracted less attention than it deserved. We refer to the Commission appointed in 1849 to consider the best mode of subdividing overgrown parishes. It has recommended the immediate formation of 580 new districts, as essential to render the parochial system a reality in England. Of the desirableness of such an addition, after the details published by the Commissioners, there can be no question. But the difficulty is how to provide funds for building and endowing so many churches. The Commissioners recommend a new and rather singular expedient; the sale of the greater part of the livings, now in the gift of the Lord Chancellor.* They reckon upon raising a million from this source; and another million from private contributions. We doubt, however, whether they have sufficiently considered the depreciation which would be produced in the value of advowsons by the nearly simultaneous sale of so many. Their proposal has been objected to, from a fear lest it should injure the patronage of the Crown. In this fear we confess that we do not share. It is no doubt important to keep the great dignities in the gift of the Crown, but we do not see what advantage is gained by putting 777 parishes at the disposal of the Lord Chancellor. One benefit resulting from it, is that it keeps up lay influence over the clergy; but this would be equally gained by the sale of the same advowsons to private patrons. But we fear that this

poor benefices, *the solicitor charged 40l. 5s. for written notifications of the governors' assent to receive such payments, which notifications might (except for the increase of the solicitor's gains) as well have been intimated by a penny letter.*"

* Lord Harrowby's Bill, which we mentioned at the beginning of this Article, adopts another recommendation of these Commissioners, applying the proceeds of the sales of the smaller Chancellor's Livings for the benefit of the particular parishes whose advowsons are sold.

is a case in which official traditions are likely long to prevail over common sense.

This recommended sale of livings is connected with a subject which formed the theme of several debates in the House of Commons during the last session; we mean, the expediency of altering the laws which regulate the possession and purchase of Church patronage. This has been brought forward by a new member of the House, Dr. Phillimore, who has shown less judgment and information on this question than his acknowledged abilities and eminent legal acquirements would have led us to expect. In his main proposition, that the present state of the law is anomalous and absurd, and that it causes scandals which ought to be suppressed, we heartily agree with Dr. Phillimore. But to his proposed remedy we object for two reasons; first, because it would be no cure; and secondly, because, if it were, it would be worse than the disease. But, before we give our reasons for this opinion, let us recapitulate the anomalies complained of in the existing law. 1. It is legal both for laymen and clergy to purchase an *advowson*, whether the living be vacant or full, but such purchase cannot convey the presentation to a vacant living. 2. It is legal for a layman to purchase a *next presentation*, if the living be full. 3. It is illegal for a clergyman to purchase a *next presentation*. 4. It is illegal for any one to purchase a *next presentation* when the living is vacant. 5. It is legal for a clergyman to give a bond to resign a living for certain specified relatives of the patron. 6. It is illegal to give a general resignation bond. These inconsistencies are absurd enough in themselves, but appear still more monstrous when it is remembered that the transactions prohibited, though not morally differing from those sanctioned, are stigmatised as *simoniacal*.

The origin of this application of that term, and of all these anomalies, is to be found in the fact, that the present state of the law represents a compromise between two antagonistic systems. It is the result of a long struggle between the Common Law and the Canon Law. In fact, the questions reopened by Dr. Phillimore (himself a *Doctor Canonici Juris*, and therefore a partisan in the strife) are fragments, so to speak, of the great contest of investitures, which so long divided the temporal and spiritual powers throughout Europe. According to the strict theory of the Canon Law, no lay patronage was recognised, but the bishop had the sole disposal of all Church offices. As a check upon his power, the rights of private patrons were created by the Common Law. The Church of Rome, during the contest of investitures, branded her opponents with the ugly stigma of *simony*; and the Romanising traditions of the Canon Law have applied this nickname to transactions which have not the slightest resemblance to that sin of Simon Magus from which the term is derived. Blackstone forcibly points out this misapplication of the word, and observes that "the true (though not the common) notion of simony," is "if any person obtain orders, or a licence to preach, by money or corrupt practices;" an offence which (by 31 Eliz. c. 6.) is punishable, both in the person giving and receiving such orders, by fine and incapacity of preferment. Thus it would be true simony (under this Act of Elizabeth), if a bishop were to ordain a disqualified relative for the corrupt purpose of providing him with preferment. Or again, the term was truly applicable to the conduct of a bishop in the last century, who is said to have paid his wife's gambling debt by ordaining and preferring the son of the winner. This "true notion of simony," however, has been superseded

by the technical usage of the word, in which it is applied to *any illegal transfer of patronage*. Not satisfied with this extension of the term, Dr. Phillimore wishes to stretch it still farther, so as to include the sale of *next presentations*, which his Bill proposes to forbid. But this prohibition, instead of rectifying the anomalies of the law, would only introduce a new inconsistency. There are only two methods by which the law could be rendered consistent; either by absolutely prohibiting the alienation of patronage, or by legalising it without restriction. The former is the true object of that party which Dr. Phillimore represents; the party which seeks to approximate the ecclesiastical laws and customs of England as nearly as possible to those of Rome. Dr. P. himself professes for the present to respect the right of private patronage; but his adherents are less cautious. The "Guardian" newspaper, in its vigorous articles in defence of Dr. P.'s Bill, openly declares that he does not go far enough, and that the sale of advowsons must also be made illegal. The direct consequence of this is that the right of private patronage must be abolished, for (as Paley well remarks)* patronage if inalienable from the inheritance would devolve on the most indigent and therefore the most improper hands. Moreover, the reasons alleged for prohibiting the sale of presentations apply much more forcibly against the sale of advowsons. The main argument urged by Dr. Phillimore and Lord Goderich, the two champions of the measure, was that the power of buying presentations induces men to take orders from corrupt motives. Now if this were true of the sale of presentations, it would be more true of the sale of advowsons, and most true of the permanent pos-

* Moral Philosophy, book 3.

session of advowsons. This will be evident, if we consider the circumstances under which the two kinds of property are held. The purchaser of an advowson becomes, from the time of the purchase, the owner of what is called "a family living." Thenceforward that living may be filled, as often as it falls vacant, at the discretion of himself and his representatives. Of course, it will naturally be given to some near relative, and will act as an inducement to some of the family to take orders. And the longer it is held in the same family, the oftener does it exercise this biasing influence upon the young of successive generations. On the other hand, the purchaser of a presentation buys it for some definite person, who is either already in orders, or is intending to take orders before the purchase is made. For example, a merchant has three or four sons, who have their profession to choose, and he intends to give them 5000*l.* apiece, to start them in the particular line of life which they prefer. One son chooses the army, and his portion is employed in the purchase of his commission and the subsequent steps. A second chooses to enter an attorney's office, and his money purchases him a lucrative partnership. A third prefers emigration, carries his capital with him to Australia, and returns a millionaire in twenty years. A fourth son, of studious habits and devout temper, wishes to become a clergyman. His father warns him that he is selecting a life of comparative poverty, and that he can invest his fortune for him better in almost any other line than in the Church. But the son adheres to his choice, and the father invests his 5000*l.* in the purchase of a presentation with prospect of early possession; by virtue of which the son succeeds, in due time, to a professional income of four or five hundred a year. Plainly he has

not been induced to choose his profession by pecuniary motives, but by taste and conscious fitness; and the pecuniary advantage, such as it is, has followed upon his choice, not preceded it. It is obvious that the men who succeed to livings thus purchased will be amongst the most disinterested members of their profession. They will usually have other resources independent of their tithes; and they will be free from the mean and odious motives which actuate the clerical adventurer, who seeks his preferment from the patronage of the bishops or the Crown. Dr. Phillimore's Bill would exclude a large proportion of that most valuable class of men who (as we have before seen) bring their private fortune to eke out the pittance which they receive as the wages of their ministry.

Another point strongly urged by the advocates of this measure, was the expediency of putting an end to those disgraceful scandals sometimes witnessed when a living in private patronage becomes unexpectedly vacant. It occasionally happens that the patron, desirous to sell the next presentation, and being forbidden by law to sell it during vacancy, presents an old man upon the brink of the grave, and thus enables himself legally to sell the presentation, with a prospect of speedy possession. Several cases of this kind have been recently brought before the public by that indefatigable agitator, Mr. S. G. Osborne. But it is strange that Dr. Phillimore did not perceive that these cases, so far from furnishing an argument for his Bill, tell directly against it. For the scandal is caused, not by legalising the sale of presentations, but by forbidding it in one particular case. If the patron could sell the presentation while the living was vacant, he would have no temptation to fill it with a broken-down old man. It would be bought, under the

circumstances which we have already described, for some young clergyman who has been ordained out of preference for the clerical profession. Whereas Dr. Phillimore's Bill would not at all remedy the scandal in question ; for patrons capable of conduct so disgraceful would still put in their incompetent old nominees, and sell the advowson instead of the presentation. We may add that these appointments might be prevented, without any alteration of the law, by the instituting bishop. For the patron has only the right of *presenting* a nominee ; it is the bishop who must *institute*, and he is bound to refuse institution to an unfit man.* It should be farther observed that the prohibition of the present law, which prevents the sale of presentations during vacancy, is peculiarly absurd ; for if they are to be sold at all, the most proper time for the sale is the vacancy of the living. There is a certain degree of gambling in the purchase of advowsons and presentations at present. The purchaser must speculate on the probable duration of the incumbent's life ; and there is something disgusting in the notion of an expectant watching the failing health of a possessor.

But again, it is argued by Dr. Phillimore that the right of patronage is a sacred trust, and ought to be executed conscientiously, not sold for money. Now, in the first

* The worst case of this kind which has occurred was that of St. Ervan's in the diocese of Exeter. In this case the bishop instituted an old man in the last stage of decrepitude, who, as the bishop's secretary is forced to acknowledge, was, at the time of his induction, "incapable personally to discharge the duties of his office" (see Mr. Osborne's letter in the "The Times" of Aug. 20. 1853), and who died two or three months afterwards. The Bishop of Exeter has publicly announced his determination to refuse institution to every clergyman who may agree with the theological sentiments of the Archbishop ; but it appears that personal incapacity to discharge clerical duties is no bar to institution in his diocese. We presume that the palsied old presbyter of St. Ervan's was "sound on the baptismal question."

place, this proves too much for Dr. P.'s purpose; since he permits the sale of advowsons, though he forbids that of presentations. But, moreover, we cannot force patrons to be conscientious by Act of Parliament. On this point Dr. P. is guilty of a kind of moral contradiction in terms; for he assumes the would-be vendor to desire to perform an unconscientious action and yet compels him to retain a power which cannot be duly exercised but by a conscientious man. No doubt a patron who sells a presentation in the market to the highest bidder, without reference to the fitness of the future nominee, shows a callous conscience; but what would be gained by depriving such a patron of his right of sale? Is it probable that he would make a better appointment than the man to whom he would sell his patronage? On the contrary. For the reasons already given, the purchaser of such property is likely to make a better nomination than the vendor.

The only plausible argument against permitting the sale of presentations, is that of those who urge that professional preferment ought to be by merit; and that therefore no private patronage ought to exist at all. How absurd it would be felt (they say) if Judicial posts were sold, or given to the sons and nephews of private patrons; and why is it less absurd that Clerical posts should be so dealt with? The answer is, that the importance of Judicial posts is proportionate to their salary; which is far from the case with Clerical posts. If a rectory of 600*l.* a year required qualifications superior to those demanded for a Vicarage of 100*l.*, there would be some reason why the Vicar should be promoted to the Rectory as the reward of merit; but the reverse is generally true. The rich rectories are usually quiet country parishes, for which no clergyman can be

disqualified if he is fit to be a clergyman at all. Whereas the poor vicarages are most of them in towns, involving more onerous duties and heavier responsibility, and needing in their minister a special adaptation for the office.

It is to be regretted that the very obvious flaws in Dr. Phillimore's arguments were not exposed by any of the opponents of his measure. They took their stand on the rights of property; and Mr. Butt, the principal speaker against the Bill, represented it as "an act of wholesale confiscation." This was a valid objection as against the Bill in its present shape; but might be met by the insertion of a compensation clause. Whereas no compensation would remove the real evils of the measure, which we have attempted to explain.*

Even supposing that Dr. Phillimore's principles could be carried fully out to their legitimate consequence, in the abolition of all private patronage (a *rasa tabula* being made of opposing vested interests) what would be the gain? The Crown and the bishops would then be the only patrons in the country. Is it probable that the livings would, on the whole, be then better filled than at present? It is not very difficult to answer this question, by looking at the actual holders of Crown and episcopal livings. Nay, if we could go farther still, and devise some Utopian scheme of patronage, expressly constructed for the reward of merit, it is very doubtful whether such a plan would not cause more evils than it cured; whether it might not foster hypocrisy as much as it might encourage virtue. The present system of patronage, though theoretically very imperfect, works

* [Note to the Second Edition] In the Session after this Article was published, the Bill was again brought forward, and more ably opposed. It was thrown out by a very large majority

well upon the whole. It secures, at any rate, two very important objects ; first, the due influence of the laity in Church appointments (two-thirds of the livings in England and Wales being in private patronage) ; and, secondly, the fair representation of theological parties. The latter desideratum could scarcely be achieved by any method of synodical or popular election, because, under such a constitution the preferment would be given exclusively to the adherents of the dominant party. At the same time, the actual condition of things produces, it must be owned, some scandals, and is blemished by some abuses. These might be removed, *quoad temporalia*, by legalising the sale of presentations without restriction ; and *quoad spiritualia*, by making the preparation and examinations for holy orders more stringent than at present ; by rendering the Diaconate (according to its true design) a kind of apprenticeship to the Ministry, and allowing deacons to withdraw from their profession if they found themselves unfitted for its duties ; perhaps also by requiring that no incumbent should be instituted below the age of thirty ; and possibly by permitting to the parishioners a veto on the presentation, under conditions such as those imposed by Lord Aberdeen's Act in Scotland. We rejoice in the parliamentary discussion of this very important subject of patronage, and hope that it may lead in time to some well-considered measures of amendment, which will (we may venture to predict) be very different from that propounded by Dr. Phillimore.

There may be much difference of opinion upon many of the topics discussed in the preceding pages ; but there is one point at least connected with the ecclesiastical revenues on which all must agree ; namely, that Parliament has the power (whether it have the right or not)

to apply these revenues to such purposes as it may judge most beneficial; and moreover, that it has exercised this power repeatedly in times past. This being the case, it may seem strange that there should be a possibility of its throwing away any part of this property, thus placed at its own disposal, from disliking the mode in which it is levied, or the purposes to which it is now applied. Yet this is not a mere possibility, but has already actually happened. By the Irish Tithe Commutation Act, for example, a quarter of the tithe was abandoned to the landowners, in order to conciliate their support. And this was only in accordance with the Irish Church Temporalities Act, passed in 1833, by which Church rates in Ireland were made no longer payable by the proprietors from whom they had formerly been due, but charged upon a fund formed by the suppression of ten supernumerary bishoprics. We do not deny that these measures were justified by strong motives of public policy; but we may venture to regret that it was not found possible to apply the property taken from the Church to other public purposes. For example, it was undoubtedly wise not to extort rates for Protestant churches from a Roman Catholic people; but one naturally is tempted to wish that the same annual sum had been levied on the same property as a school rate. Had this been done, the large grant now annually voted for Irish education might have been spared.

In the late debate on English Church rates, it was proposed by Mr. Hume to follow the Irish precedent, and charge the rates upon the funds of the Ecclesiastical Commission; and even Sir G. Grey is reported to have said that he saw nothing objectionable in such a scheme. The subject of Church rates is too important to be

treated at the end of an article; and we hope to return to it at an early opportunity. We will therefore content ourselves for the present with expressing our decided opposition to a plan which would not merely absorb the whole of a revenue so recently devoted (by repeated Acts of Parliament) to other and far more important objects; but also would give an annual bonus of a quarter of a million sterling to the owners of land and houses.*

It is doubly important at present to make this protest on behalf of the property of the public; because symptoms are not wanting of an unnatural coalition between Protectionist Toryism and Sectarian Democracy. Dissenters who hate the Church more than they love the country, seem willing to gratify the unholy hunger of disappointed landlords hankering after the tithes. Several Protectionists in Parliament have spoken of the endowment of the Church as a burden on agriculture. And in this they have an imitator and ally in Mr. Allen, the Quaker, who has lately published a thick octavo against "State Churches," wherein he proposes that the nation should give up, if not the whole at least half the tithes, as a compensation to the agriculturists for the repeal of the corn-laws. Such a prospect is no doubt very alluring to the squire whose rent has been reduced; yet we trust that it is not very likely to be realised by Parliament. As to Church rates, the irregularity of their recurrence, their semi-voluntary character, and other peculiarities, may perhaps blind the Legislature to the fact that in abolishing them it sacrifices a portion

* It is true that the legal incidence of Church rates is theoretically *in personam*; but being, in the words of Lord Campbell (when Attorney General, in the House of Commons, March 3. 1837), "a charge on the person *in respect of the land*," they are practically a charge on real property.

of its own rights over property. But the case of tithes is far more simple, and if Parliament should ever abandon them, it will do it with its eyes open. Few but those who are deeply interested or deeply ignorant will follow the Protectionist leaders in calling the property of the titheowner a burden on agriculture. It would be as reasonable to say that Lord Sefton's property in Lancashire was a burden on Lord Derby's property in the same county. For the titheowner and the landlord are in reality joint owners of the soil ; nor has the landlord, nor any of his ancestors, ever possessed the titheowner's portion of the property. If the tithe be in arrear, the titheowner takes possession of the land, and retains it till the arrears be satisfied.* In many parishes the tithes have been commuted for land ; and there it must be clear to the dullest farmer that the parson's estate in the parish is no burden upon his farming.

The term of *a burden upon agriculture* can only be correctly applied to that which prevents the agriculturist from bringing his produce into the market on equal terms with his competitors, or (in other words) which tends to throw the land out of cultivation. Now the farmer takes his land subject to the rights both of the landowner and of the titheowner ; and the rent which he agrees to pay is the surplus remaining (after satisfying the claim of the titheowner) above the profit due to his own time and capital. Whenever the land yields such a surplus, the landlord of course will take it ; and the extinction of tithe will make no difference to the farmer, who will pay the tithe to the landlord, as farmers of abbey-lands know full well, in the shape of an increased rent. But supposing the land to yield no rent, but

* By 6 and 7 Will. 4. c. 71. s. 82.

only to produce enough to pay farmer's profit and tithe; still the tithe is no burden on the cultivation, though its existence, no doubt, diminishes the income of the landowner. Lastly, suppose the extreme case, when the land will not yield enough, after paying the titheowner, to remunerate the farmer; then, by the present law, the land becomes for the time the property of the titheowner, who will cultivate it for his own profit if its cultivation yields any profit at all. Consequently, there would be, even in this case, no tendency to throw the land out of cultivation, unless its cultivation would be impossible under any circumstances. There was, indeed, under the old law, a case in which tithe might have acted as a burden on agriculture. It sometimes happened that landowners were hindered from bringing waste land into cultivation, because it would not yield a profit after deducting a tenth of the produce, which was then due to the titheowner. But this impediment exists no longer; for no tithe-rent-charge is payable on any land which was not already in cultivation at the time of the passing of the Commutation Act.

While we are on this subject, we cannot help mentioning the original view put forward by Mr. Allen (the Quaker writer before quoted) in defence of those who try to shake off this ecclesiastical burden. It has been often remarked that the owner of property is bound in justice to pay the tithes, because the purchase-money paid for his land was diminished by the value of the titheowner's interest in the soil. Mr. Allen replies that if the estate had been subject to the periodical incursions of a band of armed robbers, it would have sold for so much less in the market; but that its purchaser would not be therefore bound to submit to the depredations of the marauders. This answer shows a happy union of re-

spect for law and perception of morality—“*Compositum jus fasque animo!*”*

The above remarks may perhaps suffice in reply to the Protectionist assailants of the Church. With regard to their democratic allies, who are so eager to destroy the Establishment that they wish to make the squires a present of its funds, it will probably occur to them, before the bargain is executed, that they may buy their whistle at a cheaper rate. They may take the tithe from the priest, and give it to the schoolmaster or the parish surgeon. Instead of pulling down the Church, they may turn it into a music hall or a mechanics' institute. However they may detest the “superstitious uses,” to which its revenues are now devoted, they are at liberty (saving vested interests) to apply them to more utilitarian purposes; and the application of them to any public purpose whatever would be better than their transfer to the owners of the soil. The fate of the Establishment amid the changes and chances of a government continually becoming more popular, is difficult to foresee. It may be maintained; it may be mutilated; or it may be demolished. But whatever be its destiny, we trust that it will be saved from that worst sacrilege, absorption in the maw of private selfishness. We trust that no future Parliament will rob the nation to enrich the landlords; nor fill the lap of luxury with the heritage of the poor.

* A clergyman of our acquaintance was formerly the owner of a house and garden which was subject to a rent-charge of 10*l.* per annum payable for the repair of the Quakers' meeting-house. We wonder whether Mr. Allen would apply his marauding theory to this instance.

VESTRIES AND CHURCH-RATES.

OCTOBER, 1854.

1. *Report from the Select Committee on Church-rates.* Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, July 15. 1851.
2. *Return of the Amount of Monies received and expended by Churchwardens in England and Wales from Easter 1830 to Easter 1831.* Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, April 13. 1832.
3. *Account of all Monies received and expended by Churchwardens in England and Wales from Easter 1838 to Easter 1839.* Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, August 26. 1839.
- 4.* *Return of every Church-rate within the last two Years in every Parish in England and Wales.* Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, July 1. 1845.
5. *Returns of all Rates, other than Poor Rates, in England and Wales, in the Year ending September 31. 1843.* Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, July 9. 1846.
- 6.* *Return from each City and Borough in England and Wales,*

* The two returns, which we have numbered (4.) and (6.), are extremely defective. The order for the first of them did not specify *which* two years were to be returned, and accordingly some parishes returned the years 1840 and 1841, others 1839 and 1840; moreover, though the amount for each parish is given, the totals are not added up; so that the information contained is practically useless, consisting of 331 folio pages of figures, in six columns each, none of them summed up. The return marked (6.) is still more useless. It does not state the years in which the different rates were granted, but only the aggregate number of rates made in eighteen years by

specifying the Number of Church-rates required, made, or refused, from Easter 1833 to Easter 1851. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, May 12. 1852.

7. *The Church-rate Question considered.* By LORD STANLEY, London. 1853.
8. *A Bill to relieve Dissenters from Payment of Church-rates in certain Cases.* (Brought in by Mr. PACKE, Mr. SOTHERON, and Mr. MILES.) Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, May 9. 1854.
9. *A Bill to abolish Church-rates.* (Brought in by Sir W. CLAY and Mr. PETO.) Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, May 23. 1854.

“THERE is not a single question,” said the leader of Opposition in 1835,—“there is not a single question, excepting that of the Irish Church, which so much presses for an immediate practical settlement as this of Church-rates. Surely the noble Lord is bound to proceed, and not leave unsettled for another year a subject so pregnant with the seeds of discord and collision. . . . Surely a Government fit to be intrusted with the management of public affairs would without delay take this matter into their own hands, and not suffer the law to be made a theme of discussion in public meetings, and a subject of resistance by parochial martyrs, for another twelvemonth.” Such were the words of no less a person than Sir Robert Peel, spoken twenty years ago,—words contrasting strangely with the speaker’s after deeds, and therefore, as his enemies might have said,

the several parishes. And here, also, the results are not summed up, so that we have been compelled to perform this long-addition sum (of 66 pages) in order to obtain the little information which is contained in the return. On the other hand, the returns marked (2.) and (3.) are excellently arranged, and give their results in the clearest and most available form; and that marked (5.) is also well arranged, and contains a good summary.

befitting him who is canonised by some of his admirers as the hero and martyr of political tergiversation. For the same statesman who in 1835 thought no Government "fit to be intrusted with the management of public affairs" which could delay for a single year the reform of the law of church-rate, was himself the head of a powerful administration from 1841 to 1846, without once proposing any measure on the subject.

Yet we must not be too hasty in attributing to the Ministry of Sir Robert Peel, or to any of those which have followed it, the whole blame of this unfortunate postponement. Procrastination of necessary reforms is one of the compensating penalties which a nation must pay for the blessing of Representative Government. When there are many separate interests affected, and many jarring opinions to be reconciled, one or other of the parties will be always inclined, and often able, to hinder and obstruct. And in the present condition of the House of Commons, more especially, clogged and incumbered as it is by an overwhelming pressure of business, even the smallest knot of obstinate partisans can put a spoke in the wheel of progress. Thus National Education is adjourned from year to year; and we have just seen the Scottish measure on the subject defeated by nine monomaniac members, who have constituted themselves (to adopt their own barbarous nomenclature) the champions of "*Voluntaryism*." So the abuses of the Ecclesiastical Courts have been dawdlingly deplored and patiently endured for half a century. And so the law of church-rate is still the same as it was when the great statesman of the age declared, twenty years ago, that it could be tolerated no longer by any trustworthy administration.

There are, indeed, special reasons which make such

delays more likely in Ecclesiastical than in Civil reforms. The old maxim of law, "*nullum tempus occurrit ecclesie*," if interpreted by the conduct of the legislature, would seem to bear the sense, "*no delay can harm the Church*." In everthing relating to its concerns, a system of obstinate obstructiveness has been maintained, not only by the Eldonite school of politicians who loved the Church for the sake of those profitable jobs and abuses which have lately been swept away; but also by utilitarian statesmen, such as Sir Robert Walpole, who desire to maintain that which exists, because its ruin would be troublesome, but utterly disbelieve all the principles on which it rests. And lastly, its improvement has been hindered by those who love it well but not wisely; who believe in its doctrines, but have no faith in its stability; who feel a lurking suspicion that it is too old and rotten to bear handling, and fear that if the timbers were renewed, the building would tumble.

Thus it has happened that the reform of church-rate, so often promised, has been so long postponed. At last, however, Parliament seems disposed seriously to grapple with the difficulty. It has formed a prominent topic of debate in the House of Commons during the late Session; and Mr. Gladstone has declared, almost in the words of his former chief, that the Government is under an imperative obligation to take up the subject. And lest any recollections of the past should weaken the effect of this declaration, Lord John Russell has given a positive promise to the House that the administration will be prepared to "settle" the question "next year." Yet while legislation is thus impending, we gather from many indications that the ideas of the public upon this, as upon most other ecclesiastical matters, are still vague and indistinct. And we hope that it may not be useless

to explain the elements of the problem to be solved, and the conditions which must be fulfilled by any satisfactory solution.

To begin, then, by a definition of the term which forms the theme of discussion—a *church-rate* is a parochial tax, imposed by the *vestry* of a parish, and levied by the *churchwardens*. Now the vestry is the parochial synod of the church, and the churchwardens are the ecclesiastical representatives of the parishioners; moreover, the only other lay officers of the Church of England, the clerk and sexton, usually share in the proceeds of the rate. Hence the granting, raising, and spending of this impost, brings into play the whole lay organisation of the Establishment. If, therefore, we wished to give an intelligent foreigner a notion of the practical working of our ecclesiastical machinery, and of the instrumentality by which the Church develops and utilises the energies of her non-clerical members, we could not do better than introduce him to a meeting of the vestry of some populous parish, assembled for the purpose of annually exercising its most important spiritual function,—the election of those officers who, under the name of churchwardens, are appointed to guard and maintain the fabric of the hallowed building, and to represent the religion of their fellow parishioners. We will suppose that some Anglican, anxious thus to initiate a foreign guest into one of our domestic institutions, had taken him to the ancient church of a large town in Lancashire, on Easter Tuesday, five years ago. The following is a description of the scene which he would there have witnessed, as reported in the local newspapers:—

“On Easter Tuesday the parishioners of Rochdale assembled in the old church, for the purpose of discharging a portion of

their annual duties by the election of the wardens for the year ensuing, and the attendance was by no means a small one.

“*The Vicar*, having taken the chair, proceeded to nominate and appoint, as his warden, George Murray Chadwick.

“*Mr. Abraham Brierly* proposed, as wardens for the ensuing year, Mr. Murray Chadwick (as Vicar’s warden) and eight other gentlemen.

“The nomination having been seconded,

“*Mr. Livesey* rose and addressed the Chairman, amidst loud cries of ‘Hear, hear,’ applause, and some sharp interjections of disapproval from the friends of the Vicar. He said, ‘I am not here to wound the feelings of the party who has so misconducted himself in the office of Vicar’s warden in past years; but I do come here, Sir, to tell you my opinion, and to elicit the opinion of the meeting, as to the way in which you have conducted yourself in having persevered ——’

“*The Vicar*. ‘I shall not hear that.’

“*Mr. Livesey*. ‘I have a right to be heard.’

“*The Vicar*. ‘We have nothing to do with what has taken place in past years; if you have any amendment to propose, I will listen to it; but this is not the time and place to ——’

“*Mr. Livesey*. ‘It never is the time and place for you, Doctor.’

“*Mr. Hunt* (solicitor). ‘Shame! shame!’ (Cries of ‘Go on, Livesey,’ and great uproar.)

“*Mr. Livesey*. ‘I think your conduct, Mr. Chairman, in endeavouring to suppress the expression of opinion on the part of this meeting ——’

“*Mr. Hunt*. ‘Shame, Livesey! Sit down.’

“*Mr. Livesey*. ‘I think that you, Dr. Molesworth, in your conduct during the last few years ——’

“*The Vicar*. ‘You shall not proceed.’

“At this time the Chairman was determined to put the motion to the vote.

“*Mr. Livesey*. ‘I have an amendment, and I mean to proceed.’ (Cries of ‘Go on,’ applause, and disapprobation.)

“*The Vicar*. ‘I shall not hear you.’

“ *Mr. Livesey.* ‘I beg to propose the following list, as an amendment.’

“ *The Vicar.* ‘Very well. I’ll hear that.’

“ *Mr. Livesey* then proposed another list of churchwardens.

“The motion having been seconded, amidst great uproar, a working man here commenced an address.

“ *The Vicar.* ‘Hold your tongue, sir! Silence! Mr. Brierly is speaking to order.’

“ *Mr. Brierly.* ‘I think this is not the place for such scenes as this. It is true, the public have assembled in this place [the church] from year to year, and that we have met for that purpose now; but I don’t think the meeting have any right to criticise the Vicar’s conduct.’

“ *Mr. Livesey.* ‘You say this is not the time. When is the time? I ask the Vicar when is the time?’ (Applause.)

“ *The Vicar.* ‘Never, for you to criticise my conduct. I am not amenable to you.’ (Disapprobation and confusion.)

“ *Mr. Brierly.* ‘I appeal to you whether, in this sacred place, you ought to go on in this way. You are met to elect the servants of the church; but it is a matter of comparative indifference to me whether my list or that of Mr. Livesey be carried; but do let us confine ourselves strictly to business.’

“ *Mr. Livesey.* ‘I wish to attend to business; and I was going to observe that when nine wardens ——’

“ *The Vicar.* ‘That is not the business of this meeting.’

“ *Mr. Livesey.* ‘Really, Doctor, your conduct is not such as becomes a Christian minister.’

“ *The Vicar.* ‘I don’t care for that. This is not the time ——’

“ *Mr. Livesey.* ‘If this is not the time, when is it? I challenge Dr. Molesworth to a public discussion on the question, at any time and place he may name.’ (Cheers.)

(After some further discussion),

“ *Mr. Cain,* wished to know from the Vicar, whether the warden he had nominated would, if he was appointed, act in harmony with those appointed by the parishioners?

“ *The Vicar.* ‘The question has been put, whether it would not be better that my churchwarden should act in harmony with

the others. Now, in the first place, I would not answer for any man how he will act for a year to come; but I think it would be much better if your churchwardens would act in harmony with him.' (Cries of 'Oh, oh!')

"*Mr. Livesey* again essayed to address the chair.

"*Mr. Hunt.* 'Sit down, *Livesey.*'

"*The Vicar.* 'You have criticised my conduct.'

"*Mr. Livesey.* 'Because I have always found you to act the part of dictator and unchristian minister.'

"*The Vicar.* 'There, now ——'

"*Mr. Hunt.* 'Sit down, *Livesey.*'

"*Mr. Livesey.* 'I was told ——'

"*Mr. Hunt.* 'Order, Order.' (Cries of 'Go on, *Livesey,*' and great uproar.)

"*Mr. Livesey.* 'Our friend, *Mr. Hunt,* is so noisy, I think a duck in the Marland Mere would be very useful to-day.' (Cheers, and great laughter.)

"*Mr. Hunt* (advancing towards the speaker with great warmth.) 'I think you are a personally-insulting scoundrel.'

"*Mr. Livesey.* 'I think the meeting will agree with me, *Mr. Hunt* has brought it upon himself by his violent conduct here; and I thought it best to give him his quietus before going any further.' (Hear, hear, and great laughter.)

"*Mr. Livesey* was proceeding to speak as to the sufficiency of a farthing rate which had been proposed, but he was interrupted by the Vicar, who immediately proceeded to put the question to the vote.

"The result was an overwhelming majority for the amendment; the numbers being—for the amendment (at least) 500; for the original motion 6.

"*The Vicar.* 'The amendment is carried. The question is, whether any one wishes to call for a poll.'

("The Vicar looked at *Mr. Brierly*, but *Mr. Brierly* made no response that was audible to the Meeting.)

"*The Vicar.* 'Well, the amendment is carried.'

"*Mr. Livesey* was proceeding to speak on the vote of thanks, when the Vicar, descending the steps from the pulpit, and

finding the crowd not at all disposed to move, said (addressing Mr. Livesey), 'I charge you with making a riot in the church.'

"*Mr. Livesey*, 'Very well, Dr. Molesworth; but I am not in the habit of suffering threats of that kind to intimidate me out of proceeding, when I have a duty to perform.'

"*The Vicar*. 'Very well.'

"*Mr. Livesey*. 'Gentlemen, I stand here on my right as a parishioner; and I know that you are willing to hear me, if others are not.'

"*The Vicar*. 'Very well; I give you notice that I shall proceed against you for a riot in the church.' (The Vicar then retired to the vestry, where he sat during the rest of the proceedings, out of the Meeting, but within hearing of what took place.)

"*Mr. Livesey* (who remained with his adherents *in the church*) then spoke without interruption, criticising the conduct of the Vicar and the wardens. He then referred to a statement made by Mr. Bright in the House of Commons, and proposed the following motion:—'That this meeting declares, from the personal knowledge of individuals comprising it, and now present, that on the occasion of the great Church-rate Meeting in 1840, the Vicar was hooted and hissed by several thousands of his parishioners, and that the soldiers were called out, though most unnecessarily, to preserve the peace: that this Meeting is of opinion that the conduct of the Vicar is unbecoming a Christian minister, and has tended to bring the Church into contempt in this parish.'

"The motion was seconded, and carried without a hand being held up against it, and *amidst loud plaudits*.

"The Meeting then separated."*

Such is now the character, and such are the deliberations, of a parochial church assembly in England. Yet what can be more beautiful than the idea, that in the ten thousand parishes throughout the land all Christian men should from time to time be called together, to take

* Abridged from the Record newspaper, April 16. 1849.

counsel for their religious interests? How is it that the actual has fallen so far below the ideal? How has the vestry been degraded from a sacred synod of the faithful, to a scene of scurrilous debate, sacrilegious riot, and low buffoonery, scarcely to be surpassed even by the senates of Illinois or Missouri? The first origin of the mischief is to be found in that evil spirit of priestcraft which led both the Greek and Latin Churches to stifle the independent action of the laity, and concentrate the spiritual rule in the sacerdotal order. This hierarchal policy was much aided, and partly justified, by the barbarism of the times which followed the overthrow of the Empire. For when the clergy were the only members of the Church who could read their alphabet, they necessarily engrossed to themselves the functions which none else were fit to exercise. Till the civilisation of the West was overwhelmed by Goths and Vandals, the assemblies of the laity still held control, in the most important matters, over the religious concerns of the district to which they belonged. Even so late as the time of Ambrose, we find the chief pastors of the Church elected by the congregations over which they were to preside. And St. Augustine himself was appointed to his first ministerial charge by what we should now call the *vestry* of a small country town in Numidia. But the tendency of the Roman Church was too thoroughly sacerdotal to suffer such independent action to continue within the limits of her jurisdiction. The local assemblies of the laity were soon deprived of their religious functions, and degraded into committees of finance. In England it is possible that in the purer epoch of the British Church, the Celtic Christians may have enjoyed the same privileges as their Numidian brethren. But since the Anglo-Saxon times, it is not probable that the

parochial synod ever aspired to higher duties than those which it now discharges as the ecclesiastical rating-board of the parish.

It is true, however, that it formerly exercised its functions under more advantageous circumstances, and—without the disturbing forces which now too often make it a mockery and a farce. For so long as all the parishioners were in reality what they are in theory, members of the National Church, though the acts for which they were convoked were not of the highest importance, yet they were peacefully performed, and could not be conscientiously opposed. But when toleration was secured to Dissenters at the Revolution, a parishioner could no longer be regarded as necessarily a Churchman. Yet no provision was made to adapt the legal code of the Establishment to its altered position. The forms of ecclesiastical procedure hardened as they froze. The Statute Law, on the one hand, licensed nonconformity, and registered Dissenting chapels; the Common Law, on the other hand, stiffly maintained every Englishman a Churchman, and called on every inhabitant of a parish (whether Baptist, Socinian, or Jew) to vote in vestry upon the election of ecclesiastical officers, and to tax himself for the repair of a fabric where he no longer worshipped. Nay, while he was permitted by statute to frequent, and even to build a conventicle, he was (and still is) liable by the Canon Law to be *presented* by the churchwardens for absenting himself from the services of the Church. And if he fails to perform his religious duties to their satisfaction, he may be cited before the Bishop's Court, and perhaps subjected to imprisonment "*for his soul's health.*" Or again, he may himself be elected churchwarden, and compelled to superintend rites which he believes idolatrous, and take

custody of crosses which he abhors as Popish, and vestments which he contemns as prelatical. If he refuses to undertake this office, he is liable to a heavy fine; and for the sake of getting this addition to their funds, parishes have been found capable of profaning the rites of religion by the election of open unbelievers. This is a case of no very rare occurrence. Last year, in the metropolitan parish of St. George's, Eastcheap, the vestry elected a Jew churchwarden; the worthy Israelite, however, did not pay his fine, but served the office for a twelvemonth; and that (as we have been informed by one of the parochial authorities) "very much to the satisfaction" of this very Christian parish.

The *vestry* itself—the body which the law encourages in such scandalous mockery, by composing it of such incongruous elements—has been, from the earliest times, the legal assembly of the parishioners for the dispatch of parochial business. It derives its name from its customary place of meeting, the chamber where the sacred vestments of the church were formerly kept; although it may, and in large parishes often does, meet in the church, and make the roof of nave and chancel echo with cheers and laughter. Its members are the ratepayers of the parish, each of whom has a voice and vote in its proceedings. But the larger contributors have (by a statute of the present century*) a plurality of votes, in the proportion of one to every 25*l.* of assessment. In place of these *general* vestries (as they are termed) some parishes are governed by *select* vestries, constituted either by special statute, or (in a few cases) by immemorial custom. The commonest form of select vestries is that created under "Hobhouse's Act," which permits parishes

* 58 Geo. 3. c. 85.

with a certain population to substitute a representative assembly for their ancient vestry. This act abrogates (where it is adopted) the above-mentioned plurality of voting, and establishes household suffrage, vote by ballot, and annual election; thus bestowing upon the happy ratepayers the three points of the *Nova Charta*. Under its provisions, they periodically elect a parochial parliament, faithfully foreshadowing the aspect which the House of Commons would exhibit if similarly elected. These are the vestries by which several metropolitan parishes are now governed; and the readers of the comic newspapers are familiar with the antics of these mimic senators, their petty squabbles, their mock-heroic orations, and their ridiculous travesties of parliamentary usage. Happily the Act by which they were called into existence forbids them to assemble in the church; but the unlucky clergyman is still compelled to be their official chairman, unless he be wise enough to absent himself from their deliberations altogether.

Whatever be the constitution of the vestry, it possesses the same general powers; namely, to investigate and restrain the expenditure of the parochial funds; to vote the church-rates; to determine the expediency of enlarging or altering the church; and to elect such of the churchwardens as are nominated by the parish.* This last is the only one of its duties which can strictly be called ecclesiastical. For the churchwardens are still

* The number of churchwardens elected by the parishioners varies in different places. The rule laid down by the canon is, that the minister should nominate one, and the parishioners another; and this is the most usual practice. But there are some parishes where both are elected; others (as Leeds and Rochdale), where the parishioners nominate *eight*, and the incumbent *one*. The legal practice in each parish is fixed by custom, which overrides the canon. The persons elected are compelled to serve, under the penalty of a heavy fine.

(at least in theory) intrusted with religious functions, as representatives of the laity. They are by law required to make an annual *presentment* to the archdeacon at his visitation, wherein they are bound to specify all irregularities in the conduct either of the clergyman or the parishioners; as, for example, any violation of the rubric, or neglect of visiting the sick, on the part of the former: and any offences against good morals (such as habitual absence from public worship, drunkenness, swearing, or lewdness) which have been committed by the latter. But in practice, as may easily be supposed, this presentment has faded into an empty form, except in the case where flagrant scandal has been caused by some transgression of the clergyman. And even then, the churchwardens too often omit their duty, to save themselves from personal unpleasantness. They are further bound to keep order in the church during public worship, to distribute the eucharistic alms jointly with the minister*, to arrange the seats, and to ring the bells.† So far their duties, as at present executed, do not give rise to much contention; except in the case where they are elected purposely to annoy an unpopular clergyman. The more usual cause of discord is the obligation incumbent on them to provide the necessaries for divine service, and to repair the furniture and fabric of the church. This part of their office they cannot discharge without money; money they cannot get without levying a rate; and a rate they cannot obtain without the consent of the vestry. Hav-

* According to the rubric (which has the force of statute, by the Act of Uniformity) the alms are at the disposal of "the Minister and Churchwardens;" but if they disagree, must be "disposed of as the Ordinary shall direct."

† For the ringing of the bells, however, they must have the consent of the minister.

ing decided, therefore, on the sum they will require, they convoke the parishioners, and prefer their modest request of a penny or twopence in the pound. This demand they make from a body which, according to the hypothesis of the law, consists of none but devout frequenters of the parish church. If the fact coincided with the theory, all would be plain and easy; and in those cases where it approaches it (as, for example, in the immense majority of country villages), the annual church-rate is voted without a division. But if the population be manufacturing, and the Dissenters powerful, the chances are that some vestry Hampden moves and carries an amendment. The churchwarden appeals to a poll, where he is perhaps again defeated; and at last he resigns the unequal contest, and conveys to his brother officials, the sexton and the clerk, the melancholy tidings that for the coming year their salaries must be abandoned to the uncovenanted mercies of the Voluntary System.

These two latter, being the only other lay officers of the Church of England, we may say a few words in explanation of their functions, in order to complete our sketch of the actual organisation of the popular element in the Establishment.

The *Parish Clerk* is a personage better known to most by the ear than by the eye. Who has not heard, in our country churches, the cruel havoc wrought upon the responses of the service by his tasteless recitation, whether in lugubrious drawl, monotonous bawl, or drowsy rattle? This antiphonal office, however, is no part of his legal functions; for, by the theory of the Church, the whole congregation should respond, and not devolve this portion of their duties upon an uneducated spokesman. And we rejoice to observe that the

practice corresponds with this theory in many new churches, where the people have taken the responses into their own charge, and have dispensed with the services of a deputy. It is said by writers on Ecclesiastical Law, that the office of parish clerk originated in the *Constitutions* of Archbishop Boniface, which direct that the post of *Holy-water bearer* (*aquæ bajulus*) should be bestowed upon a clerk, who should assist the parish priest and obey his commands. Subsequently, the small profits of the office not sufficing to maintain a clergyman, it became the practice to appoint a *lay clerk*, which is, strictly speaking, a contradiction in terms: and till a recent statute (7 & 8 Vict. c. 59.), no "clerk in Holy Orders" could be clerk of a parish; the original institution having been superseded by immemorial custom. The duties of the parish clerk, however, still continue (except in the matter of holy water) to be much what they were in the time of Boniface; namely, to give general assistance to the minister in the performance of Divine service. The clerk's office is a freehold, conferred by the parole appointment of the parson. But he may be removed for proved misconduct by the archdeacon (7 & 8 Vict. c. 59.) The salary is derived from customary fees, usually eked out by an annual dole from the church-rate.

The *Sexton* (or *Sacristan*) is also an ancient parochial officer, whose name is derived from his original duty of "keeping the holy things belonging to the Divine worship."* In most cases, however, omnipotent custom, the parent of English law, has transferred this trust to the clerk, and has only left to the ancient guardian of the sacristy the humbler and less pleasing task of grave-

* Burn's Ecclesiastical Law, *in voce*.

digger. This is the more strange, because the sextonship alone among ecclesiastical offices may legally be held by a woman, and women may vote in the election of a sexton. The Court which decided this point in favour of the sex gave a curious ground for its decision; — “that as this was an office which did not concern the care or inspection of the morals of the parishioners, there was no reason to exclude females.”*

The view we have thus given of the lay organs of the Church of England, though summary, is complete. And surely a very rapid glance at this machinery may suffice to show the rust by which its wheels are clogged. Yet such is the indifference of Englishmen to all general schemes of organisation, except those which directly concern their material interests; so strong is their attachment to prescriptive forms and ancient customs; that this semi-obsolete system has gone on without alteration for two hundred years, and might perhaps have gone on for two hundred more, had it not been for the storm which has arisen against a particular portion of the structure. This, however, cannot be altered without causing the whole to be reviewed. And we are, therefore, thankful that the helpless miscarriage of the law of church-rate has been forced upon the notice of the Legislature. Having now, as we trust, prepared our readers to understand the elements involved in the discussion, we proceed to explain the actual condition of this law, which has during the last twenty years caused so much disturbance.

The foundation and origin of church-rates is the obligation imposed by the laws of England upon every parish to maintain the parish church. This obligation

* Str. 1114., quoted in Cripps's “Laws of the Church,”

is probably not much less than a thousand years old; for it is recognised by a law of King Canute, which declares that "all the people ought to give due aid in repairing the church."* It is also declared to be a portion of the Common Law, by the unanimous opinions of all the twenty-three Judges who have given their decision upon the celebrated Braintree Case, however they have differed from one another upon minor points.† But the enforcement of this obligation has always rested with the Ecclesiastical Courts, nor does the Common Law provide any machinery compelling its performance; although the statute of *Circumspecte agatis*, passed in the 13th year of Edward the First, confirms the right of the Ecclesiastical Courts to punish those who refuse to repair their churches, and forbids the Temporal Courts to interfere for their protection.

The Spiritual Courts, being thus left unfettered in their jurisdiction, have established by their decisions the leading principles of the law. They regarded the obligation of maintaining the fabric and furniture necessary for divine service, as a religious duty incumbent on every parishioner. Hence it followed, that the rates raised by the parish were (in legal phraseology) incident *in personam*; that is, they were a personal tax on the

* "*Ad refectionem ecclesiæ debet omnis populus secundum rectum subvenire.*" This law is referred to in the judgment of Mr. Justice Cresswell on the Braintree Case; and is quoted in the evidence published by the House of Commons. (*Report*, p. 461.)

† Thus Lord Denman says, "The repair of the fabric of the church is a duty which the parishioners are compellable to perform, not a mere voluntary act. The law is imperative upon them absolutely that they do repair the Church." (*Judgment of Exchequer Chamber in Veley v. Burder.*) So Lord Truro, in the House of Lords (though deciding against the power of the minority to make a rate), declares that "the parishioners are under an imperative legal obligation to provide for the necessary repairs of the church, and for the expenses incidental to public worship."

inhabitants, not a charge upon the property of the district. Thus, if church-rate be not paid, the Ecclesiastical Courts have no remedy against the property of the recusant, but must imprison his person. And so far is this carried, that if the defaulter dies, the debt dies with him; his executors not being bound to pay the church-rate which was due from him.* But though so purely personal in theory, the payment was regulated in amount by the ability of the contributor; and his ability was measured by his landed property, that being the only tangible property in early times. Theoretically however, personal property was, and still is, liable to church-rate. Nay, there are a few parishes in England where cattle and ships are now assessed to this rate.† But (except in these few places) the custom has been so universal of charging real property only with the rate, that the Courts would probably decide that personal property was now exempt by prescription.‡ At all events, the charge has been, from time immemorial, practically a charge on the landed property of the country, though it can only be enforced by proceeding against the person of the occupier.§

* House of Commons Report, p. 234.

† At Poole ships, at Boston stock-in-trade, and in parts of Derbyshire cattle are assessed. The case of Poole was decided by the Court of Delegates, in 1823; on which occasion one of the Common Law Judges expressed his opinion that, in strict law, you might assess a man to church-rate according to his whole personal estate; for instance, "You might assess Rundel and Bridge for all the jewellery in their shop." (*House of Commons Report*, p. 300.)

‡ Sir J. Dodson says, that rating stock-in-trade to church-rate is according to the Common Law, but "has gone into desuetude." (*House of Commons Report*, p. 579.)

§ In Jeffrey's case (5 Lord Coke's Reports, 66.), it was decided that church-rate "doth not charge the land, but the person in respect of the land, for equality and indifferency."

The process by which the Ecclesiastical Courts enforce this obligation against a recusant, when a rate has been granted by the parish, is as follows:—The churchwardens commence a suit against the defaulter, Nehemiah Brown, for “*subtraction of church-rate* ;” a curious term, which seems to imply that Brown has not only failed to pay his rate, but has actually stolen it from the parish chest. If Brown disputes the validity of the rate, or his own liability, the Court proceeds to try the points which he has raised. But if he cannot make any legal objection to the charge, he is pronounced contumacious, and is imprisoned till payment under a writ out of Chancery *de contumace capiendo*.^{*} If, however, the rate upon Brown be (as it almost always is) below 10*l.*, or if he be a Quaker[†], then the rate may be recovered in a less disagreeable way, by summary process before two magistrates, who may order the amount to be raised by a distress upon his goods. This, however, they cannot do if Brown gives notice of his intention to dispute the validity of the rate.

But it sometimes (and in these latter years not unfrequently) happens, that instead of an obedient parish and zealous churchwardens enforcing the payment of a rate against a recusant individual, we see the rate refused by the vestry, and the wardens elected on purpose to oppose it. How can the legal obligation to repair the church be enforced against such a contumacious parish? This is a very difficult question. It was decided by the Courts of Queen’s Bench and Exchequer

^{*} This writ was substituted for the old writ “*de excommunicato capiendo*” by 53 Geo. 3. c. 127.

[†] Quakers are allowed the benefit of the summary process for any amount under 50*l.*, by 53 Geo. 3. c. 127., an act which extended the earlier act of 7 & 8 Will. 3. c. 34.

Chamber, in the Braintree Case, that the minority of the vestry might, in such a case, make a valid rate against the will of the majority. This decision, however, has been within the last twelve months, reversed by the House of Lords; and it is now the law that a rate cannot be made except by a majority of the vestry. But can the majority be constrained to comply with the demands of the law? Dr. Lushington and Sir J. Dodson (both high authorities on these questions), assert that they can. The former, in his evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons, states that when the necessary repairs are thus refused, the Ecclesiastical Courts can order the parishioners severally by name, not "to make a rate," but "to repair the Church." If this order were disobeyed, the judgment of the Court might be asked against every individual who disobeyed it; and such disobedience would be punished by imprisonment for contempt.* Sir J. Dodson adds, that, besides this "process against every individual in detail," the Ecclesiastical Courts might put the whole parish under "an interdict;" *i. e.* deprive it of the ministrations of the Established Church.†

Such was the law in Roman Catholic times, and such

* Dr. Lushington, speaking as Judge of the Consistory Court, says, "If I ordered A. B. C. D., and so on, to repair, and they were contumacious, it would be my bounden duty to follow it up. It would not be a matter of choice with me; I should be bound, in that case, to pronounce them contumacious, to signify their contempt to the Chancellor, and the Chancellor would put them in prison." (*House of Commons Report*, p. 296.) So the Judge of the Exeter County Court, in giving judgment on a suit brought in July last by the parish clerk of St. Mary's against the churchwardens, said, "If the parish refused, the churchwardens were bound to return the names of each [or any] of the majority who refused the rate, who would be pronounced contumacious by the Ecclesiastical Court, and a writ would be issued from the Court of Chancery to the Sheriff of the County to send them all to the County gaol."

† House of Commons Report, p. 589.

it still remains. It may at first seem strange that several centuries should have passed during which church-rates have been annually proposed in all the ten thousand parishes of England, without the occurrence of a single case to draw these trenchant weapons from the sheath where they have so long been hidden, in the darkest recess of the canonical armoury, so that the very remedies provided by the law have become a matter of dispute among the most scientific lawyers. In explanation of this lengthened period of quiescence, it must be remembered that until the Revolution Non-conformists had no legal existence; and (unless in the exceptional case of the Quakers, who gave a passive though not an active submission to the law) did not venture to force their non-conformity into notice by resisting any legal obligation. And although, after the Revolution, toleration was secured to them, yet for many years they remained a small minority, exposed to popular odium, and sometimes to popular outrage. During the whole of the last century the mob was zealous for the Church; from the days when Sacheverel was escorted in triumph through the streets of London, to those of the "Church and King" rioters who burnt down Priestley's house at Birmingham. And we may remark in passing, that this fact shows how far more easily the enthusiasm of the populace is excited for names than things; since the very period when the Church of England had sunk to her lowest level, in doctrine, in discipline, in morality, and in care for the poor, was that of her highest favour with the masses. Moreover, besides the terror of persecution, which restrained Dissenters from braving the wrath of zealous Churchmen, there was also very generally diffused throughout society a dread of the penalties of resisted law, more formidable for the mystery which en-

veloped them; and a feeling of submission towards established rule, which paralysed hostility. Thus we find that so far from venturing to refuse the claims legally obligatory upon them, parishes assented without opposition to payments purely voluntary. For the law only demands that the necessities of divine service should be provided; but the vestry may lawfully include in the rate many non-essentials, which we may call the *luxuries* of public worship as (for instance) the maintenance of an organ, and the salary of a choir.* Not only were such articles quietly and unanimously voted, but in half the church-rates passed during the last century items were included positively illegal, so that the rates made and paid without opposition were actually invalid. Thus it was the most common practice to include retrospective expenses, which entirely invalidate the rate wherein they occur. Nay, Dr. Lushington "has known highway and parliamentary expenses included;†" and Sir J. Dodson knows cases where the cost of killing sparrows and vermin was charged in the church-rate.‡ But these halcyon days of quiet (for all but the rats and sparrows) were too serene to last. The French Revolution of 1830, combined with the agitation which followed it, was a death-blow to all principles of non-resistance. And the Reform Bill gave to the Dissenting interest, which prevails most extensively among the middle rank of tradesmen and shopkeepers, a formidable accession of political power. Hence it happened that church-rates, which had hardly

* The distinction is, according to Dr. Lushington, that the churchwardens may provide the *essentials* out of the money in their hands, without consulting the vestry; the *non-essentials* require the vestry's previous consent. (*House of Commons Report*, p. 315)

† *House of Commons Report*, p. 296.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 590.

been refused by a single parish before 1830, began from that epoch to meet with an opposition constantly increasing. No church-rate has been levied at Birmingham since 1831 ; none at Leeds since 1833 ; and many other towns have followed in the train of these ; till at last the most populous parishes in the great manufacturing towns have nearly all refused to pay. Thus the amount of church-rates levied in England and Wales was reduced from 446,247*l.* in 1831, to 363,103*l.* in 1839, and to 262,670*l.* in 1843.* There are no returns of the amount for subsequent years, but no doubt it is still farther diminished. Meanwhile, the obsolete law has furnished a battle-field for legal strife ; its dusty corners have been searched, its rusty armour furbished up ; and questions which for many years had only exercised the wits of ecclesiastical antiquaries, have now been keenly fought from court to court by angry partisans. The chief thing proved by these forensic contests has been the complication and uncertainty of the law, and the expensiveness of the litigation. The ecclesiastical remedies are so much impeded by technical difficulties, that whenever a vestry obstinately refuses church-rates, it is nearly impossible to enforce them. It is not true, indeed, though it has often been asserted, that the law imposes an obligation without providing means for compelling its performance. We have described the machinery which exists for putting the screw upon a recalcitrant parish. But yet the warning of Dr. Lushing-

* The amounts here given are those of the *church-rates* levied ; not including the money derived from other sources, and applied to the same purpose as church-rates. As an example of the cause of decrease, we may state that in Leeds the rate averaged 1,564*l.* per annum, from 1800 to 1833 ; since then it has ceased altogether. Generally, however, the rate has not ceased, but it has been reduced in amount, and more economically spent.

ton is highly suggestive. He says that, "Considering these proceedings have now been obsolete for 150 or 200 years, there is a very great chance that there may be a miscarriage in some point of form, so that the power of the Ecclesiastical Court would never be brought into perfect effect."* At any rate, the decision of each several case might be postponed perhaps for twenty years, by the determined and organised resistance of a wealthy body like the English Dissenters. Every case comes first before the Consistorial Court of the diocese; thence it may go, by appeal, to the Court of Arches; at this, or the former stage, the defendants may move for a *prohibition* in the Queen's Bench; if refused there, they may appeal to the Exchequer Chamber; if unsuccessful there also, an appeal to the House of Lords remains; if the Lords again refuse the prohibition, the case comes back to the Court of Arches; and thence may be finally carried to the Judicial Committee of Privy Council. The Braintree case, in its second phase, lasted thirteen years (from 1841 to 1853), though it only went through a part of this course.† The en-

* House of Commons Report, p. 295.

† The history of the Braintree case is as follows:—In 1837, a rate was rejected by the vestry, but made by the churchwardens on their own sole authority. This rate was confirmed by the Consistorial Court, but its decision was reversed by a prohibition from the Queen's Bench, which was maintained (on appeal) by the Exchequer Chamber. In the judgment pronounced by the latter Court, it was intimated (*obiter*) that a rate *by a minority* would be legal. Thereupon the churchwardens and a minority made a rate; the Consistorial Court now pronounced this rate bad; but the Court of Arches (on appeal) reversed this judgment and confirmed the rate. The Queen's Bench was then moved for a prohibition, but refused it, and confirmed the judgment of the Court of Arches; the Exchequer Chamber (on appeal) (agreed with the Queen's Bench; but the House of Lords reversed the decision of both Courts, and issued the prohibition. If, on the contrary, the Lords had confirmed the decision of the Courts below, the cause would not have ended; but would have returned to the Court of Arches, and

ormous expense of such litigation is obvious. In the Braintree suit, the costs of the churchwarden alone were 2,378*l.**, and this did not include the solicitor's charges and travelling expenses, which were gratuitously given. But even if this protracted opposition were not offered, if no mistakes were made in the obsolete forms of jurisprudence, and if the legal process were brought into perfect operation, yet it would be so invidious to enforce the punishment by sending a parish to prison, that few churchwardens or archdeacons would venture to incur the odium which their official duty requires them to encounter. Nor are such difficulties confined to the case of a recusant vestry. Even an individual Nehemiah Brown in a consenting parish, may, if he has money at command, give much trouble and vexation to the parochial authorities. We have said that the summary process above mentioned cannot be resorted to when the validity of the rate is disputed. And there are innumerable cavils of which a captious objector may avail himself: thus Brown may allege that the rate is partly retrospective, or that the assessment is unequal, or that the prior rate is not exhausted (which it hardly ever is, because the poorest ratepayers must almost always be excused), or that illegal items are included.† If any of these objections can be sustained, the rate is upset; and at all events the discussion of them may involve tedious litigation.

thence would have gone by appeal to the Judicial Committee of Privy Council, where it would at last have exhausted its noisy circuit, and spun itself to rest.

* See a statement published by the Archdeacons of London, Essex, and Middlesex, dated June, 1854.

† Dr. Lushington says, that it is hard to draw the line between legal and illegal items; *e. g.*, to decide whether the inclusion of a beadle's salary, without previous consent of vestry, would invalidate a rate. (*House of Commons Report*, p. 215.)

We have said enough to prove that the law on this subject is in a most unsatisfactory state, being partly obsolete and partly uncertain; and offering so many facilities for evasion, that where the opponents are numerous and determined, it is found practically impossible to enforce it. The existence of such a legal deadlock is in itself demoralising to the nation. As Mr. Gladstone truly said, in the late debate upon the subject, "The present state of the law tends to weaken the foundation of all law, in a country where it is admitted that there is a legal obligation without the means of enforcement." On this ground alone it is universally allowed, even by those who wish to retain church-rate substantially on its present footing, that an alteration of the law is needful. But though by altering the incidence of the tax, and its mode of collection, and by adding a summary method of procedure, the law were rendered simpler and more certain, there would still remain other evils, inseparably connected with the present system of church-rate, considering it as a tax levied at the discretion of a vestry, and imposed on a minority of Nonconformists.

The most prominent of these is the injury inflicted on religion by its association with an unholy warfare waged upon sacred ground. In large parishes where church-rate contests have occurred, they have been attended with all the violence and bitterness of contested elections. The mischief thus occasioned is strongly stated by Dr. Lushington, to whose testimony we have so often appealed. Nor would it be possible to summon a witness better qualified to condemn the hatred and malice engendered by party strife, than one who spent so many years in the conflict of politics without making a single

enemy; conciliating the regard of the angriest antagonists by the happy suavity of a benignant temper:—

“Cujus erant mores, qualis facundia, mite
Ingenium.”

In giving his evidence concerning this church-rate agitation, Dr. L. states that he has seen, as its result, “the separation of parishes into two parties, and every description of heart-burning and quarrels;” and he adds, “it has created greater feuds than any other subject that I know.” The mischief of this is much enhanced by the subject-matter of the strife. Questions relating to the most sacred ordinances of religion, the furniture of the altar, the providing of the eucharistic elements, the frequency and mode of celebration of the Sacraments, are exposed to the flippant scoffs of vulgar and irreverent buffoons. And the profaneness which all this involves, is still further heightened by the place selected for the crisis of the conflict; for it is usually fought out in the interior of the church. And thus the walls which, above all others, should be associated with unity and concord, become connected in the minds of those who worship there with memories of brawl and riot. Imagine (for example) the desecrating influence of such a scene as that which is described by one of the witnesses before the House of Commons, as having taken place in Brain-tree church. An illegal motion in favour of vote by ballot was made, which the Vicar (who was in the chair) refused to put. On this it was moved by the opposition party, that the Vicar be adjudged to have vacated the chair, and that a farmer of the name of Burder be called to take it. This was carried; but as the Vicar refused to give up bodily possession of his seat,

the new chairman contented himself with a rival throne. Thereupon "a poll was taken in the church, the Vicar sitting at one table, and taking a poll openly in the usual way; Mr. Burder sitting at another table with a ballot-box, and taking the vote in that way."* Sometimes the violence of feeling excited on these occasions leads to actual blows, as was lately the case in Enfield church, where we learn, that "on Easter Monday, at the close of the annual vestry meeting, one of the vestrymen followed the ex-warden into church, and at the altar-rails most grossly and violently assaulted him. He first charged him with Puseyism, infidelity, &c., and upon provoking a retort, struck him on the chest, and again on the neck."† Such open pugilism, however, is scarcely more disgusting than the uproarious plaudits in which the joy of sectarian triumph occasionally finds vent; as at Whitechapel, for instance, where we read that "there were struggles to get majorities in the vestry, which went to such an extent, that upon one occasion, when the Church party beat the other party, they absolutely had a hurrah in the middle of the church." "I heard oaths sworn in the body of the church."‡ The evil of such disputes was illustrated by Mr. Bright, in the late debate, from his personal experience.

"He (Mr. Bright) had lived in a borough which, up to 1840, had been the scene of church-rate contests. He had seen three or four thousand persons assembled in the church-yard, harangued by aspiring orators who denounced the system of church-rates. He had seen the church crowded by persons in a temper and state of mind which it was a matter of regret to

* House of Commons Report, p. 143.

† Guardian Newspaper, April, 1854.

‡ House of Commons Report, p. 3.

witness anywhere, but especially in a place of worship. He had known an expenditure take place on such occasions far exceeding the expenditure at contested elections. He had seen the military called out. And he had seen the vicar of the parish exposed to insults to which every man of right feeling must regret that a minister of religion should be subjected.”*

This last incident, the mobbing and caricaturing of the unlucky parson, is a necessary feature of these ecclesiastical conflicts. It is true that the clergyman is not compelled to take any personal part. It is not his office either to demand or to levy a rate. “Every clergyman of discretion” (says Dr. Lushington) “keeps himself aloof from church-rates. He says, “That is the business of the vestry, it is not mine.”† But yet, as he is the legal chairman of the vestry, his position invites badgering; and the opposition invariably bait him with irregular motions, or personal abuse. And even if he absent himself from the bear-garden, and studiously abstain from meddling with the poll, still the mob naturally regard him as representative of the Church, and make him responsible for all the offences of her supporters. So that whenever the churchwardens perform the duty which they are sworn to fulfil, of levying the rate against defaulters, the incumbent is accused as the interested instigator of religious persecution. And every chair and table sold under warrant of distress is supposed by some mysterious process to swell his private income.‡ Thus not only is his popularity destroyed,

* Times, June 22. 1854.

† † House of Commons Report, p. 302.

‡ Even well-informed persons are constantly falling into the error of conceiving church-rate to be a part of the revenue of the clergy. One of the most remarkable instances of this mistake occurs in a late article of “The Times” upon the Religious Census. In this, the amount of church-rates, estimated at 500,000*l.* a year (which was about its amount, including all re-

by his identification with unpopular laws, but his religious usefulness is impaired by the sordid imputations which are cast upon his character.

Another evil of the present system of church-rate is the extensive prevalence of a belief that it is founded on injustice. The dissenters complain that the law forces them to tax themselves for the profit of their neighbours. "How unjust," they say, "that we should pay for what we do not use." It is not wonderful that such feelings should exist; the very fact that this charge is imposed by vote of vestry, must keep up irritated feelings among those who permanently dislike and annually resist it. And its fluctuating amount prevents them from acquiescing in it as a regular burden upon their property. Nor can we blame the Nonconformists for taking all legal methods of relieving themselves from a payment so distasteful. Yet we must protest, in the name of truth and common sense, against the assertion (too often conceded by those who ought to enlighten popular ignorance instead of fostering popular delusions) that there is "injustice" in the obligation imposed by law upon every parish to repair its church. The law may be, and we think it is, impolitic; but we deny that it is unjust; whether we regard church-rate as (what it is in practice) a charge upon property; or as (what it is in theory) a tax upon persons. If we view it in the first light, it falls ultimately on the owner; and the occupier cannot complain of it, since he gets it allowed

ceipts applicable to church-rate purposes, in 1839), is added to the other revenues of the church, and the total thus produced is divided by the number of clergy, in order to obtain the average income of each clergyman. While on this subject, we may express our regret that the church-rate return of 1839 should have been given in the Religious Census as the most recent, when there was a subsequent return (in 1846) which gives the amount of church-rate in 1843. (See return marked (5.) at the head of this article.)

him in his rent ; or (which is the same thing) he makes allowance for it in calculating the rent which he will consent to give.* It has been said, indeed, that this is not the case in towns ; but it is obvious that in those towns where church-rate is paid, every prudent man would ascertain its average amount before agreeing with his landlord for his house ; so that ultimately it must fall upon the landlord. Now, this landlord has either bought or inherited his property subject to church-rate. His position, if he be a Dissenter, is practically the same with that of an Episcopalian landowner in Scotland, where all land is charged with the burden of maintaining the kirk and manse. Such charges cannot possibly be unjust, because the right of the law to claim them from the property whereon they fall, is as strong as the right of the owner to the property itself ; both rights resting on the same foundation of immemorial prescription and statute law. Nor is the case altered because the charge may be increased if the value of the property is increased ; as, for example, if the owner builds houses on land which was formerly pasture. For when he does this, he knows the liabilities which he incurs ; and acts on a calculation that, taking these into account, he is profiting himself. Indeed, if on this latter ground church-rate be unjust, so is poor-rate, highway-rate, and all similar charges. Nor should we have noticed so weak an objection, but that it was pressed by some champions of Dissent in the Committee of the House of Commons.†

* We find that glebe land in Essex, which is free from church-rate, lets 6*d.* an acre higher, *i. e.*, the landowner pays 6*d.* an acre for church-rate. (*House of Commons Report*, p. 146.) Also that the late Lord Western paid the church-rate himself for his dissenting tenants, and charged it in the rent. (*Ibid.* p. 201.)

† *House of Commons Report*, p. 187.

But it may be said, and said with truth, that we have no right to look only on the practical incidence of this impost. We must look also at its theoretical incidence, which is, as we have already shown, on the person, and not on the property. Though by custom it has been turned into a burden on the land, yet by law it is a personal tax, and still retains many characteristics of its original nature. But admitting fully the propriety of looking at the church-rate in this latter point of view, we still deny its "injustice." For is it unjust to allow the vote of a majority to impose a tax on a minority? If so, all our taxes are unjust, and our whole parliamentary system is one huge immorality. Or does the injustice depend on this, that the law forces men to pay for objects which they conscientiously disapprove? Why, then, how monstrously unjust to make Mr. Bright and Mr. Cobden pay the double income-tax, which is expressly granted (as declared in the preamble of the bill imposing it) to enable Her Majesty to carry on her "just and necessary war" with Russia: a war which those honourable members have declared to be both a folly and a sin. Yet we believe that neither of them has remonstrated with the tax-gatherer on the immorality of his demands. So Mr. Spooner meekly pays taxes for the maintenance of Maynooth, and Sir R. Inglis gives the like support to the "godless colleges." Yet no one pities any of these gentlemen as the victims of "injustice." Because it would be absurd to stigmatise as unjust any burden which the State imposes for the general good, however mistaken may be the views of the Legislature in its imposition. It was well observed by Mr. Vernon, in the debate on church-rates in 1837, that this outcry about injustice reminded him of the complaints of one of his constituents against another paro-

chial charge. "What a shame it is," said the complainant, "that I should have the highway-rate levied upon me." Mr. Vernon asked him "Why?" His answer was, "Because I never drive or ride; I always walk, and therefore I don't want your macadamised roads."* We might add, that as this grumbling pedestrian really profited by the good roads without knowing it, by getting his letters sooner and his provisions cheaper, so the Dissenters benefit by the maintenance of a fabric dedicated to public worship in every village; and that, not merely by the cultivation of their taste for architecture, and by the improved beauty of the landscape, adorned as it is by those towers and spires which so often break the monotony of an English horizon; but in a more utilitarian sense, by the humanisation of the labourers whom they employ, for whom seats are provided free of cost, that they may hear the Gospel within those walls; walls hallowed by association with the most solemn epochs of their lives, and surrounded by the graves of their forefathers. But even if this benefit should be denied, it does not affect our argument, which is, that no dislike in an individual to the object of a tax can make that tax unjust, when lawfully imposed.

But although this impost is not really unjust, it cannot be denied that many are taught to think it so. They are told that it is a badge of inferiority, and a relic of religious persecution. And taxation being always unpleasant, they are easily persuaded that it is wrong. Hence a rankling feeling of irritation is excited; and the annual recurrence of parochial contests keeps the sore perpetually raw, by the renewal of the blister.

* Hansard, March 13. 1837.

Therefore while we deny the "injustice," we fully admit the impolicy, of imposing the church-rate on Dissenters.

Another reason which confirms us in this conclusion, is that the continuance of the impost encourages a very offensive species of humbug. It creates a crop of hypocrites, who profess to believe, not merely that church-rate is unjust, but that it is sinful to pay it, and who convert these scruples of conscience into a profitable stock-in-trade. To say that such scruples are ridiculous, is saying less than the truth. We freely allow, indeed, that in a few cases, as amongst the early Quakers, for example, where extreme fanaticism is united with ignorance of the first elements of moral philosophy, they may by possibility be genuine. But in the present day such cases must be rare indeed. There are few so blinded by bigotry as not to agree in the axiom of Mr. Gladstone—"When the legislature makes a demand on its subjects for a part of their property, whatever be the purpose to which it is applied, *the demand of the legislature absolves the conscience of its subjects.*"* In fact, when the legislature *demand*s it *takes*; and payment, therefore, is not voluntary acquiescence, but forced submission. Dissenters, when resident abroad, never refuse to pay the local taxes demanded from them, however idolatrous may be the application thereof. A Christian would not show his Christianity by refusing mosque-rate in Turkey.

But the best proof that these scruples are insincere, is the fact that they were never heard from Dissenters till the Reform Bill put political power into their hands. The Quakers, as we have just said, are an exceptional case; they give implicit obedience to the traditions of George Fox, and oppose passive resistance to all eccle-

* Hansard, March 15. 1837.

siastical payments, as he taught them. Even in their case, we are unable to understand the possibility of an honest man buying property, which he gets at a lower price because it is liable to a certain charge, and then declaring that his conscience forces him to repudiate the charge, and so to improve his bargain. Yet so perverse is human eccentricity, that we believe Fox and his followers were honest in pursuing this line of conduct. But then it must be remembered that they proved the reality of their scruples not by noisy opposition, but by patient endurance, and in times when they had everything to lose and nothing to gain by refusing to pay what they allowed the law to take.* But the case is very different in our days. Church-rate martyrdom is now a cheap and easy path to notoriety, and the martyr not only draws crowds to his shop, but is usually elected an alderman of the borough, and corporation jobs and dinners are the tortures to which he is condemned. Mr. Mellor, who was himself the counsel for one of these modern martyrs, gives the following account of his client to the Committee of the House of Commons.

“People visited him in great numbers in prison, and he held a levee there constantly. The late Vice-Chancellor Wigram, who was counsel on the other side in the Court of Chancery, told me that in consequence of the *persecution*, as it was called, vast numbers of people resorted to his shop, and that his trade

* Even the Quakers are not consistent in their scrupulosity, for they pay *war-taxes*. In the committee on church-rates, Mr. Bass, a Quaker witness, is asked, “Should you object to pay a national rate for the support of a war?” *Answer*. “Yes, I should.” *Question*. “But have you not done it all your life?” *Answer*. “. . . The taxes for war are so mixed up with unobjectionable charges, that it is impossible to dissect them. . . . If the Government were to ask me for a *war-tax*, I should not pay it.” Mr. Bass has now an opportunity of showing his consistency, by refusing the double income-tax, which is expressly declared by the statute book to be a *war-tax*.

was very much better in consequence of his being a martyr. I called upon him in gaol, with a view of advising him to succumb, and begging him for the sake of his family to give way, and endeavouring to reason him out of the scruples which afflicted his mind. I was unsuccessful. On mentioning this, I was told that there was no wonder about it, for he was prospering very much by reason of the sympathy which his case excited.”*

The mode in which these worthies proceed most clearly stamps the character of their opposition. Their imprisonment is purely voluntary; for, if they really scrupled to pay, they might act like the Quakers, and submit quietly to a warrant of distress. But, instead of this, they oust the jurisdiction of the magistrates, by promising to dispute the validity of the rate in an ecclesiastical court. This promise, however, they do not fulfil, but make no appearance in the court, and are thereupon committed for contempt. They stay in gaol long enough to excite public notice, and then prove the sincerity of their convictions by paying the demand, or getting their friends to pay it for them.

When such facts are brought under our notice, we find it hard to say whether the *church-rate martyr* or the *vestry patriot* be the more offensive product of the agitation which feeds them both. The two are essentially of the same genus, but of different species. The “martyr” is sleek, silent, and oleaginous; the “patriot” is dapper, noisy, and hirsute. The martyr wins notoriety by ostentatious endurance, affects to shrink from fame, and blushinglly bears honour thrust upon him; the patriot forces himself by storm on the notice of his fellow citizens, spouts at parish meetings, canvasses municipal wards, and is a conspicuous correspondent of

* House of Commons Report, p. 333.

the provincial press. He is usually a pert and pushing tradesman, with a glib tongue, a brazen brow, and leathern lungs. He has probably quarrelled with the churchwardens about a seat in church, or has been refused the place of clerk or sexton by the parson; and has thereupon turned a zealous Baptist, and resolved to show the Church how dangerous an enemy she has made. The "martyr," on the other hand, is rather obstinate than pugnacious, and acts more from calculation than from spite. Both heroes often meet at last in the county gaol, but quit it by opposite roads. The church-rate martyr entered it because he would not pay, the vestry patriot because he could not. The former leaves it with affected lamentation, that the friends who paid his rate should have bowed the knee to Baal; the latter emerges joyfully insolvent, exempted by operation of law from the necessity of satisfying his creditors.

If, notwithstanding the arguments which we have adduced, some zealous Churchmen still hesitate to concur in measures which would exempt Dissenters from contributing to the support of the National Church, perhaps they will be persuaded to reconsider their objections by looking at the question from another point of view. If they observe the effect of the law which they defend, they will find that, instead of securing the superiority of the church over the chapel, it is often the instrument whereby Churchmen are subjected to the domination of Dissenters. Every Nonconformist being taxed to maintain the services of the church, claims rights correlative to this obligation, to superintend the distribution of ecclesiastical funds, and to vote for the election of ecclesiastical officers. And even in the case of new churches, for which no rate can be demanded, the same principle of law brings the same con-

sequences of interference. Surely it is better to give up a system, however plausible in theory, which leads to results so anomalous.

For the above reasons, we agree with those who desire the abolition of church-rates in their present form. We hail joyfully the promise made by Lord John Russell on behalf of the ministry, that they will undertake next year to settle this untoward difficulty. We cordially concur in the conviction of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that "it is hardly possible to exaggerate the strength of the obligation on the Government to take this question into their consideration."* Nay, we should even agree with Mr. Horsman, in "preferring the total abolition of church-rates to the continuance of the present state of uncertainty and embarrassment."

But, notwithstanding all the difficulties which surround the question, we are not reduced to this alternative. It is true that Mr. Gladstone, in a speech which was wittily described as consisting of "four and twenty logical objections to every possible course of proceeding, put like four and twenty fiddlers all in a row," has shown the numerous knots which perplex the problem. But the plans which have been proposed outnumber the fiddlers' band, and his analysis has not exhausted all possible solutions. It is needless to weary our readers with all, or even with half the methods that have been suggested. If any one wishes to investigate them, are they not written in the blue book, which contains the deeds of the church-rate committee? Substantially, however, so far as the difference between them is material, they may all be reduced to three classes; the first, including those measures which would charge the

* See the debate on Sir W. Clay's bill, June 21. 1854.

church-rate on the revenue of the state; the second, those which would abandon it without a substitute; the third, those which would retain the legal obligation on Churchmen, and exempt Dissenters.*

The schemes first proposed in Parliament belonged to the former of these three classes. The earliest measure was that of Lord Althorp, who, in 1834, brought in a bill, substituting for church-rate an annual charge of 250,000*l.* on the land-tax, and 50,000*l.* more to be derived from the improvement of ecclesiastical property. This bill was supported by several majorities in the House, but was ultimately withdrawn, being wrecked in the storm which shattered the ministry of Lord Grey. Next came the proposal of Sir R. Peel, during his first administration, to charge the church-rate on the Consolidated Fund. This plan might be defended by the analogy of France, where the churches and parsonages of the three recognised religions (*cultes reconnus de l'état*) are built and maintained by the State, at an expense of a million and a half per annum.† The measure was, however, strongly opposed; especially on the ground that it would tax Scotland and Ireland for the support of the English Establishment. The objection was perhaps more plausible than valid, considering how many Scotch and Irish charges are paid by England. Yet the scheme could not be expected to

* We here speak only of measures contemplating the *abolition* of the present system of church-rates. Besides these, several plans have been proposed for improving the existing law; either by throwing the charge on the owner instead of the occupier; or by assimilating the church-rate to the poor-rate; or by allowing the redemption of church-rate on the principle of the land-tax. But though either of these plans would be a great improvement on the present system, yet they would not overcome the objections which we have stated to the imposition of church-rate on Nonconformists; and would, therefore, be only palliatives, and not cures.

† House of Commons Report, p. 494.

satisfy the Dissenters; and it had, of course, no chance of success when proposed by a ministry which could not command a majority in the House of Commons.

The third and last Government measure on the subject was brought forward by Mr. Spring Rice, when Chancellor of the Exchequer, in 1837. He proposed that "a permanent and adequate provision" should be made "for the repair and maintenance of parochial churches in England and Wales, and for the celebration of Divine worship therein," by "*an increased value to be given to church lands.*" A resolution was carried in favour of this proposal, but by a majority so narrow (273 to 250) as to render further perseverance hopeless; and the bill was accordingly abandoned. Since then, Parliament has appropriated the surplus which will arise from the better management of church property to more important ecclesiastical purposes. It would, therefore, be now impossible to revert to this abandoned scheme, without sacrificing other plans which have received the sanction of the Legislature. Indeed, it would be far better to leave the repair of churches to voluntary contributions than to confiscate for the maintenance of the material fabrics revenues now consecrated to the spiritual instruction of the people. We have classed this last measure with the other plans for charging church-rate on the national resources, because that which is drawn by legislative enactment from property subject to parliamentary control is in effect the revenue of the State. But, at the same time, there is one important distinction to be made between the measure of Mr. Spring Rice and those of Lord Althorp and Sir R. Peel; namely, that it satisfied the Dissenting interest, which the others did not and could not do.

The second mode of treating the case is simpler than the first, as to kill is easier than to cure. It prescribes the total annihilation of the present system, without providing any substitute. Not to notice other abortive attempts to force this measure upon Parliament, it may suffice to mention, that in April last, Sir W. Clay, at the head of the Radical party, obtained leave, by an unexpected majority in a thin House, to bring in a bill for the immediate abolition of church-rates. This bill was opposed by Government, and thrown out upon the second reading (June 21. 1854), after speeches from Lord John Russell and Mr. Gladstone, which we have already quoted. The advocates for this short and easy method propose to leave the repair of churches on the same footing as that of Dissenting chapels, — dependent, namely, on the voluntary contributions of the congregation. But, in the first place, it is doubted whether in small rural parishes the voluntary system would provide sufficient funds for the maintenance of the church at all. In the towns it is allowed, on all hands, that churches may readily be maintained in this way. But in the country the case is different. It is easy for a congregation of Dissenters to run up four brick walls, and to keep the humble fabric weathertight; but it is a more costly matter to maintain the spires and pinnacles, the high-pitched roofs and decorated porches which often adorn some paltry hamlet. In fact, the churches built for country parishes by our forefathers sometimes seem almost absurdly beyond the scale required by the number of the parishioners; who look nearly as insignificant, when contrasted with the vast proportions of the shrine wherein they kneel, as the few white-robed students who cluster in the choir of King's Chapel at Cambridge, — lonely, in the long perspective of its vaulted arches; as

if placed there purposely to show forth the contrast between the human and the divine.

“ High heaven rejects the lore
Of nicely calculated less or more.
So deemed the man who fashioned for the sense
These lofty pillars, spread that branching roof,
Self-poised, and scooped into ten thousand cells
Where light and shade repose, where music dwells
Lingering, and wandering on as loth to die.”*

It would be a low and miserable utilitarianism which should cut down such temples to fit the numerical dimensions of their congregation. This, however, is a contingency which we do not greatly apprehend. Difficulties would no doubt be felt in some special cases ; yet, on the whole, we cannot bring ourselves to believe that a single church, architecturally worth preserving, would be allowed to fall. Where the parish was too stingy or too poor to keep up the fabric, a diocesan subscription would come to the rescue. And if this were insufficient, the incumbent would no doubt supply the deficit out of the private resources by which most of our established clergy eke out the scanty pittance which they receive from their livings.

But another and more fatal objection to the unconditional surrender of church-rate is, that it involves the establishment of a universal system of pew rents, and consequently sacrifices the vested rights of the poor. Those who could not pay for seats would be shut out from the church, as they now are, by the operation of the same system, from the meeting house.† For it is

* Wordsworth's Sonnets.

† To illustrate the practical working of the voluntary system in country districts, we will take the case of a small country parish in Essex, which is divided into four large farms, averaging 200 acres each. The church-rate

admitted by the testimony of Nonconformist witnesses examined before the Church-rate Committee, that the congregation of a Dissenting chapel consists of the trading classes, to the almost entire exclusion of the labouring poor. This argument against the voluntary system has been strongly urged by its opponents. Thus Mr. Goulburn, in the recent debate, said, "Church-rates are levied to secure to the poor a free admission to the house of God; and we are called on, by the abolition of these rates, to prevent them from having this free access to divine worship." So Dr. Lushington, in answer to a question, "Whether payment for the repair of churches out of pew rent would be desirable or possible?" replies, "I never would assent to any system that should leave the poor of England without a place to go to church."* And Lord John Russell, in the speech before cited, says, "I think such a mode very objectionable. It is wholly repugnant to the feelings of the agricultural population generally, who have been accustomed to visit the church as a free and open church. The poor would especially have a right to complain were pew rents established." Indeed, it is more and more generally acknowledged

averages 20*l.* per annum, or 6*d.* an acre. Under these circumstances, the whole expense of providing accommodation for religious worship is shared between the rector (who is bound to repair the chancel) and the four farmers. Each of the latter pays 5*l.* per annum, and of course gives 5*l.* less of rent for his farm; so that virtually the rate is paid by the landlords. The poor of the parish are admitted free of cost, and have their seats provided for them by the rich. But we fear that it could not be expected that these farmers should continue to pay their 5*l.* a-piece as a spontaneous gift for the benefit of their neighbours; nor even that their non-resident landlords should consent to supply the whole parish with free sittings, when the law exempted them from contribution. Hence, all those among the poor, who could possibly afford it, would either be compelled to pay pew-rent for the seats which they now freely occupy, or would be excluded altogether from public worship.

* House of Commons Report, p. 331.

that the system of pews, which during the last century crept into the church from the meeting-house, is in a national church an odious abuse, though in voluntary places of worship it is a necessary expedient. And it would clearly be very undesirable to extend and perpetuate an evil which has done so much to alienate the rich from the poor, at the very time when it is rapidly disappearing before the influence of better knowledge and more Christian feeling. At present, by recent legislation, a certain number of free sittings must be reserved, even in those town churches where pew rents are allowed ; and a limit is fixed to the price of seats. These wholesome restrictions would be swept away by the radical change which we are considering.*

We think, then, that the unconditional abolition of church-rates would most unwisely sacrifice the country to the towns, and the poor to the rich. And farther, it would fling away a substance to gain a shadow. For the sake of a momentary popularity with the Dissent-

* Mr. Burgess, the Rector of Upper Chelsea, in his evidence before the Committee on Church-rates, contrasts the different positions of a voluntary chapel and a national church, as follows : — " Let me take the instance of a parish church, or a church like my own, which is maintained entirely by pews-rents, and the case of a dissenting chapel. If the law permitted me, at this moment, to put 5*s.* a sitting upon my sittings, I should want no church-rate of anybody, nor any collection ; that would pay everything needful for the sustentation of the fabric and the incidental expenses. But the law prohibits that and says, ' You shall not exceed such a sum in letting your sittings.' If I go to my neighbour, a Dissenting minister, I find that he can charge what he pleases for his sittings, and can fill his chapel at almost any price ; he has, therefore, his resources entirely at his own disposal, and he wants no rates ; the law does not shackle him at all. Another instance : I am bound to open my church to everybody, and I must have 600 free sittings for the public to enter in and take without any charge at all ; the Dissenting chapel need have no free sittings, and generally has very few, so that it is not a public building. If, therefore, the law insists upon the church being open to everybody, and cripples me in my resources, it is bound, I think, to maintain it as a public fabric.' " (*House of Commons Report*, p. 493.)

ing bodies, we should enrich the landholders by remitting a local tax which in the great majority of cases is paid without reluctance. In the words of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, "There are something like 11,000 parishes; and it is not an illiberal estimate to say, that out of that number there are not more than 500 in which church-rates are either refused or contested. If that be true, it does not at first sight appear to be an adequate reason for destroying this law in the 10,500 parishes where the law has worked well, and where there have been no heart-burnings at all."* As a proof how exaggerated are the common statements of the extent of opposition to church-rates, Dr. Phillimore informed the House, during the same debate, that "from two returns which he had recently obtained, he found that in the Archdeaconry of Middlesex and London alone no less than 59 church-rates had been made, in many cases without opposition, since the date of the Braintree case [*i. e.* since last winter]." And similar evidence is furnished on a more extensive scale by the Return to an Address of the House printed in May, 1852; which gives the number of church-rates made and refused in the cities and boroughs of England and Wales from 1833 to 1851. From this we find † that, during these eighteen years, there were 11,627 separate church-rates made by the 1,025 town-parishes. This clearly shows that the

* Reported in "The Times," June 22. 1854. In the leading article of the same paper, on the same debate, occurs the following passage: — "*We are told the rate is paid cheerfully in at least one parish in twenty-five. That is about Lord J. Russell's calculation.*" Really this is one of the strangest mis-statements we ever read. The calculation referred to (which was Mr. Gladstone's, not Lord John Russell's) alleges that the rate is paid cheerfully not by one, but by *twenty-four* parishes in twenty-five.

† See the first note on this Article.

parishes which refuse church-rate are comparatively few, even in towns.

We must repeat, therefore, what we said nine months ago in reference to this subject; that nothing but the strongest political necessity can justify the State in abandoning a revenue which belongs to itself, and so transferring it from public uses to the domain of private selfishness. Now in the present case we have about 250,000*l.* a-year*, of which only $\frac{1}{12}$ th or at most $\frac{1}{10}$ th†, is contributed by Dissenters. Hence there is more than 200,000*l.* raised, without opposition, as a tax on Churchmen, who attend the services and use the seats for which they pay. Moreover, the annual sum paid by each contributor is so small, that its remission would be almost unfelt; so that the public would be injured, without profiting the individual. We have seen that, in those rural districts where the payment is highest, the abolition of church-rate would virtually increase the rent of the landlords by 6*d.* an acre; a paltry gift, which nine landlords out of ten would scorn to pocket. Why, then, should the nation force this unsought boon on the owners of property?

It may be said, indeed, that the principle of this objection would forbid us to exempt Dissenters from the payment of these rates. And, no doubt, we might consistently contend with Mr. Drummond, that "these rates, if taken from the Church, ought to be handed to the State."‡ But the reasons which we have already given for abandoning the exaction of church-rate from

* The last return of church-rates in England and Wales gives their total amount (in 1843) as 262,670*l.*

† This is the calculation of Sir Robert Peel (Hansard, March 13. 1837), with which Mr. Gladstone agrees.

‡ Speech on the first reading of Sir W. Clay's bill.

Nonconformists are so strong, as to constitute that political necessity which (as we maintain) ought to be pleaded, in order to justify the surrender of national revenue. Yet it would theoretically be better, instead of remitting this portion of the tax, to transfer it to some public purpose which the payers would approve. But the practical difficulties in the way of doing this are so great, and the Dissenting contribution to church-rate so small, that it is hardly worth while to attempt it.*

Our readers will have anticipated, from what we have said, that we are inclined to advocate the third method which has been suggested for redressing the evils and anomalies we have described; namely, that which proposes to take church-rates from Churchmen, and from Churchmen only. There have been several plans for effecting this alteration. One proposal, which has been successfully carried out in a parish of Leeds, by the voluntary consent of the inhabitants, is to rate those only who attend the services of the Church; assessing them, as at present, according to their property.† Another scheme, which has attracted more notice, would exempt Nonconformists, if duly registered as such, from ecclesiastical dues. This plan has been brought before Parliament under two different modifications; last year, by Dr. Phillimore, and in the present year by Mr. Packe.‡ But neither of these measures was strongly

* It was suggested by a member of the Church-rate Committee, that "each denomination should have the right of spending on its own fabric and services a rateable sum, so that it should not be of pecuniary advantage in respect of church-rate to belong to one denomination more than another." But no practical machinery for carrying out such a plan has been proposed, and it would necessarily be difficult and complicated.

† House of Commons Report, pp. 519—521.

‡ Dr. Phillimore's proposal (which was nearly identical with that made by

supported, and they were both withdrawn by their proposers. Indeed, it is scarcely possible in the present day, considering the immense pressure of business in the House of Commons, for a private member to succeed in carrying any measure on so difficult a subject. The principle of these bills, however,—namely, the exemption of registered Nonconformists from church-rate,—if weakly supported, was still more weakly opposed. Few members of the Legislature advocate the continuance of the law in its present state. And the representatives of the Dissenting interest could not decently argue against an exemption for which they had so long clamoured. Accordingly, they at first said little, because they had nothing to say. But lately, their ablest rhetorician, Mr. Bright, has happily bethought himself of a nickname which will save the trouble of argument. He describes Dr. Phillimore's measure as "*the plan suggested for ticketing and labelling Dissenters like parcels to be sent by railway.*" And he vehemently exclaims that "the Dissenters have been subjected to a good many insults during the last century or two, but he does not think they will submit to be *ticketed* in their own country." Would it be possible to find a cavil more palpably disingenuous? Surely the force of faction can go no farther than this attempt to raise an agitation against a useful reform, by nicknaming registration *ticketing*. * Why, we are all of us registered, in fifty different ways, from the day of our birth to the day of our burial. Mr.

Lord Stanley in the pamphlet at the head of this article) was to exempt registered Dissenters entirely from the rate. Mr. Packe's bill proposes to continue their liability to repair the church, but to exempt them from the rest of the church-rate. This plan is decidedly inferior to the other; so small a change would satisfy nobody, and hardly be worth making.

* "It has been my fortune," says Mr. Gladstone in the same debate, "to live some years in Scotland, where I am myself a Dissenter; but I do not object to record myself a Dissenter any number of times the law desires it."

Bright himself, we suppose, was registered when he married, and registers his babies when they are severally born, baptized, or named. And even in death, he will not escape the grasp of the Registrar General, who will *ticket* him with the very name of the disease which shall have robbed the country of so illustrious a citizen. Thus the resemblance which he so greatly dreads, between himself and "a parcel labelled to be sent by railway," must inevitably occur when he is despatched upon his last journey. We confess that we cannot perceive the likeness between parcels and Dissenters, nor the insult conveyed in such a similarity, supposing it to exist. But no cavil is too silly to get up a cry. Such a mode of opposition, however, distinctly shows that the object of the party represented by Mr. Bright, is not to relieve the Dissenters from an impost, but to rob the Church of a revenue.

The objections made from the conservative point of view to the proposed exemption of Nonconformists, though less absurd, are not very formidable. In the first place, it is urged that such exemption would be "a bonus on dissent;" or, in other words, that men would be tempted to declare themselves Dissenters to escape the payment of a few annual shillings. We quite agree with the Chancellor of the Exchequer in repudiating such a supposition. "I do not believe," said he, "that there would be ten Dissenters more or less in the country, in consequence of the exemption of Dissenters *eo nomine* from the payment of church-rate." We would add that if, instead of ten, there were ten thousand of such pecuniary perverts, every honest man must feel their loss a gain.

Another objection to the proposed change, which some think weighty, is the precedent which they sup-

pose that it would establish for confiscating other property of the Church. The absorption of tithes, it is feared, might follow the deglutition of rates. But the two differ so fundamentally, that no legislation against the latter could establish a precedent against the former. In the first place, tithe is a property, and church-rate is a tax. Secondly, the tithe of one parish out of three belongs to lay owners; the church-rate has no owner, and belongs to the parish chest. Thirdly, church-rate is legally a *personal* charge; tithe is a charge *upon the land*. So that the tithe-owner, if unpaid, may take the land, and keep it until he is paid*; whereas, when church-rate is unpaid, the Ecclesiastical Court has no remedy except against the *person* of the defaulter. Fourthly, church-rate is a variable charge, imposed or refused by vote of vestry; tithe is a fixed corn-rent, and regularly accrues by law. These differences are so great, and so evident, that there is no fear lest any reasonable man should claim exemption from tithe because he had obtained exemption from church-rate. For in paying tithe, he is paying what never was, and never will be, his own. The Dissenter must be a fool indeed, who imagines that the Legislature will ever allow him (or his landlord, if he be only a farmer) to put the tithe rent-charge into his pocket. But, after all, the value of such precedents, on either side, is estimated perhaps at more than they are worth. If Englishmen should ever be convinced that an established religion is a nuisance, they will get rid of it, whether with precedent or without. Till they come over to this opinion,

* Dr. Lushington says (House of Commons Report, p. 305.), "Wherever there has been a charge on land, as in the case of tithe, there has always been a power of distress and seizing the lands." See also 6 & 7 Will. 4. c. 71. sec. 82.

all the precedents in the world will not harm an institution cherished and trusted by the nation.

We do not believe, then, that the reform proposed by Dr. Phillimore would be dangerous to the Church. And we think that he would have been better employed during this session in perfecting his measure than in trying to create new kinds of simony, or in hindering the building of suburban churches. Yet since an outcry has been got up against the registration of Dissenters, it would be wise to abandon that part of the scheme, which might be done without sacrificing its principle.

In any measure which might be framed on the subject, we should propose to give up entirely that portion of the expenses now chargeable on church-rate, which is applied for "the necessities of divine service." This amounted, in 1839, to more than half the expenditure; but is now perhaps not more than a third of the whole.* By abandoning this, the repair of the fabric would remain the only item in the rate. We should further propose that a surveyor should be appointed by each county, to make an annual estimate of the repairs requisite for the maintenance of the parish churches in his district. The sum which he certified as required,

* In 1831 (as we learn from one of the returns cited at the head of this article), out of 645,883*l.* paid by churchwardens only 248,125*l.* was spent on repairs of churches; the remainder, 397,758*l.*, was spent on books, bells, organs, the provision of the Eucharistic elements, and the salaries of clerks and sextons. The latter item was the largest, amounting to 126,185*l.* But since 1832, all non-essential expenses have been curtailed. In 1838-9, the amount paid by churchwardens was 480,662*l.*, of which 215,301*l.* was spent on repairs, and 265,361*l.* on other expenses. These "other expenses" have, since that date, been still further reduced; but the later returns do not enable us to say how much. The Church, however, would give up not less than 80,000*l.* a year under this head. But to meet this loss, there are in many parishes local endowments for church purposes, which produced in 1831 a revenue of 51,919*l.*

together with his own official salary, should be included in the *county-rate*; but a separate account of it should be kept, and published annually, stating that “the *county church-rate* for the preceding year was so many pence in the pound upon the assessment.” Thus each ratepayer would know at once the sum which had been charged upon himself. We would recommend that every dissentient should have the right of claiming the repayment of his church-rate, in the same way that those possessing less than 100*l.* a year can now obtain restitution of their income-tax. For this purpose, printed forms should be supplied on application; and in these forms we would not even require from the claimant a statement of nonconformity; but simply a declaration that he *conscientiously objected to the payment of church-rate*; which should be signed by the applicant, and witnessed by two ratepayers.* The sums so repaid would, of course, be added to the church-rate of the ensuing year. A list of those who had claimed this exemption should be annually printed, and they should be thereby deprived of their claim to seats in church, and of their right to vote at the election of churchwardens. By this plan, the only persons charged with the expense of repairing the church would be those who wished to avail themselves of its services. Moreover the amount required would be much diminished, not only by reduc-

* The form of these claims might be something of this kind:—

I, A. B., ratepayer of the parish of C., conscientiously object to the payment of church-rate; and hereby demand the repayment of the sum of _____, levied on me for church-rate, in the year 18 ____.

Witness my hand, this _____ day of _____, 18 ____.

A. B. of C.

Signed in the presence of us,

D. E. }
F. G. } Ratepayers of the parish of C.

ing the rate to a mere fabric-fund, but also by the greater economy introduced by placing all the churches in the county under a central management. And annual inspection would, by insuring timely attention to small repairs, save the expense which is now often ultimately incurred by unwise procrastination.

This reform, in order to make it complete and satisfactory, must be accompanied by others. In the first place, the obsolete powers of the Ecclesiastical Courts, and their vexatious methods of procedure, should be done away. They should be no more permitted to treat a Nonconformist as a rebellious Churchman, nor to concern themselves in any way whatever for "the health of his soul." Secondly, the parochial synods of the Church should no longer be rendered useless by the intrusion of Dissenters. This latter change is closely connected with the former; and gross injustice constantly results from the present law. For example: when the Church party in a parish, for the sake of peace, give up the attempt to enforce a rate, and maintain their church by their own voluntary offerings, the management of the funds which they have raised is sometimes transferred to their opponents. "They are liable" (in the words of Mr. Gladstone) "to have the application of their money taken out of their hands by the men who had the week before voted against the rate." Another example, still more flagrant, is of no unusual occurrence in the present day: a church is built in some large town by zealous members of the Establishment. By their private liberality the fabric rises in all the loveliness of mediæval architecture; breaking the dull and vulgar line of our commercial streets with belfry and buttress, gabled porch and mullioned window. Within its walls, the like harmonious richness is given

to the service, by the chants and anthems of cathedral music. If now the founders turn their edifice into a commercial speculation; if they divide the area into pews, and share the pew-rents among themselves; they will at once have the pleasure of a service according to their mind, and the profit of a lucrative partnership. No law forbids them to make this gain of godliness; and such a practice is not uncommon in the builders of proprietary chapels, whether Churchmen or Dissenters. But if, scorning this sordid aim, they are anxious for the spiritual good of the population which surrounds their new-built church; if, accordingly, they attach to it a parochial district, and make the clergyman not their own hired servant, but a parish minister; then they at once resign the control of their work to a miscellaneous multitude. It is true that no rates can be levied for the church thus gratuitously bestowed on the parishioners; so that no inhabitant has any more reasonable claim to interfere in its management than in that of the neighbouring Jewish synagogue or Unitarian chapel. Yet the existing law gives every householder in the district a voice in its vestry and a vote in the election of its churchwarden. Hence, if there be a popular agitation against the style of worship adopted by its founders, a small minority of churchmen may avail themselves of the aid of the nonconformist or infidel inhabitants, and so crushing the resistance of the congregation, may remove the crosses from the building and the chanting from the services; and, if it were not for the police, they would no doubt proceed to complete the description of the Psalmist, and "break down the carved work thereof with axes and hammers."

Such are the anomalies which result from that obstinate adherence to the letter rather than the spirit of

the law, which is a necessary characteristic of lawyers, till they are relieved from a false position by fresh legislation. The discussion of our present subject, indeed, forces upon us at every point the conviction that old things are past away. In our vexation, we might almost be tempted to say of the Establishment, as Moore sings of the Irish harp, that the only sign of its existence is the noise from time to time created by the snapping of some mouldering chord. Yet such words and thoughts would be both hasty and unjust. The harp need but be new strung, to make harmonious music as of old. The principle of the ecclesiastical machinery is sound, and there is power enough to work it. All that we need is to rub off the rust which impedes its movements, and to mould its minor details in conformity with its position.

The remedy for the disorders which we have described, as for most other evils "which laws can cause or cure," is to bring the law into harmony with facts. The first and chief discrepance between them is (as we have seen) the legal perpetuation of that obsolete theory which makes every Englishman a Churchman. We have already pointed out some of the mischiefs springing from this root of bitterness. We may add that it has had a twofold operation, damaging both the secular and the religious organisation of parishes. The legal assembly of the inhabitants for the regulation of their local affairs, is also regarded as the lay synod of the Church. Hence its religious and its financial functions are blended in inextricable confusion, to the mutual injury of both. For example, the Vestry is the parochial rating board, which superintends the secular as well as the ecclesiastical expenditure; the moneys to be disbursed for paving, lighting, and road-mending,

being under its control. But since, when viewed in their spiritual capacity, all men ought to have an equal voice, the Common Law allowed all members of the Vestry an equal vote.* Yet what can be more absurd, than that the contributor of five shillings, and of fifty pounds, to a common fund, should each have the same power over the chest which holds their joint stock? How would the proprietary of a railway relish a similar rule? It is plain that if the Vestry had been contemplated by law, as being what for most intents and purposes it is, a financial board, it would have been enabled to regulate its expenditure by unrestricted plurality of voting, like a body of shareholders. In this particular, therefore, the religious aspect of the body has interfered with its secular efficiency.

But far more frequent and more mischievous is the converse operation of the same cause, by which the secular character of the vestry annihilates its religious usefulness. We have already given abundant instances of the absurdity and profaneness resulting from this incongruity. We have even seen that the religious representative of a Christian parish may be a Jew, and may perform his duties to the perfect satisfaction of the parishioners whose Christianity is embodied in his person. Surely this is the *reductio ad absurdum* of our present ecclesiastical constitution. Indeed it is universally felt that no religious functions can be properly intrusted to parish vestries as now constituted. And this conviction furnishes one of the strongest reasons for altering the law of church-rate. Yet what is the result of this state of things upon the national religion?

* This was modified, as we have before said, by 58 Geo. 3. c. 85.; so that a plurality of voting (restricted, however, to six votes), is allowed in parishes where Hobhouse's Act does not prevail.

It renders the Church of England absolutely destitute of all lay organisation whatever. Nay, one might almost say, she has no members at all, except her clergy; since the only act of membership permitted to her laity is a weekly attendance on divine service. How great are the possibilities of good thus thrown away. We learn from the recent "Religious Census" (which certainly cannot be accused of partiality in favour of the Church) that half the religion of the nation is to be found within her pale. And the same authority points out the vigorous efforts wherewith, in the last twenty years, she has striven to atone for former negligence, by supplying the rapidly increasing masses with pastoral ministration and means of worship. The same tale is told by the Reports of the Committee of Council on Education, where we find the schools created by members of the Church so far more numerous than those of all other denominations put together.* And if so much has been done by the random movements of volunteers, what might not be achieved if all these separate atoms were blended into one body, and knit together by the legalised manifestation of a common will? And what more easy, when there is so much

* In the volume of the Minutes of Council for this year (1853-4) we have looked at the proportions in the "calendar" given of "certificated" schoolmasters, *i. e.*, those who have obtained the certificates bestowed by Government on the teachers who have passed the best examinations. The total number of these (for England and Scotland) is 1,205, of whom 336 are Scotch, and 869 English. Of these latter, only 107 belong to Nonconformist schools, and 762 to Church schools. The grants in aid of local contributions show similar results. Thus, from 1839 to 1854, the sum of 880,000*l.* was paid to meet Church contributions, and only 187,000*l.* to meet Nonconformist contributions. Moreover, we find in the Official Report on Education, recently published by authority of the Registrar-General, that (according to the Census of 1851), "the schools of the Church of England form 81 per cent., and her scholars 76 per cent., of the whole."—(*Educational Census*, p. 48.)

energy available, than to organise and direct it? We are glad to see, by the recent discussions in Convocation, and by the Report of one of its Committees, that this subject has engaged the attention of the representatives of the clergy; and we are still more happy to find that the right of the laity to representation was only contested by a single speaker in that assembly. It is evident, therefore, that no serious clerical opposition need be feared to such a change, if it were sanctioned by Parliament.

The first step in the right direction will be forced upon the Legislature, whenever it alters the present law of church-rate. Any measure of reform must necessarily contain a clause stripping parochial vestries of their present religious character. The vestry should be left in possession of all its secular functions, and emancipated from the official control of the incumbent. But the election of churchwardens and superintendence over their proceedings should be transferred to another body (which might be called the *church vestry*), consisting of all adult members of the congregation. This lay synod of the parish would naturally provide for those necessities of divine service which would be, according to the plan we have suggested, excluded from the church-rate; and it would probably add what we have called the *luxuries* of public worship on a scale more liberal than is now usual. Nor need the powers of such an assembly be limited to these lower functions. It might also elect other officers (whom, if desirous to retain old names, we might call *Sidesmen**), with duties resembling those of the lay elders, who form so admirable an ingredient in the Scottish Kirk, or of the "Vestrymen" in the Episco-

* *Sidesmen*, i. e. *synodsmen*, is an old term for churchwardens, still used in some parishes.

pal Church of the United States.* These functionaries should share with the clergyman the offices of visiting the sick, superintending the schools, training the choristers, giving religious instruction to the poor, and managing the parochial societies formed for pious or charitable objects. Their number would of course be proportioned to the population of the parish, one, for instance, to every fifty churchmen.

All this might be effected with very little innovation, and would follow spontaneously from the creation of a genuine church vestry, invested with religious functions. But a parochial synod, when once thus changed from a sham to a reality, would no doubt develope other faculties and lead to further organisation. It would not be content to remain isolated, but would seek for practical means of union with its sister assemblies in neighbouring parishes. On such a groundwork it would be easy afterwards to base an ecclesiastical system, of which the parish should form the rudimental type. It is not difficult to imagine a diocessan convention, elected by the parochial synods of the diocese; and intrusted with the duties now discharged by similar assemblies in the Episcopalian church of North America. Into the hands of such a body we might suppose the patronage eventually transferred of those livings which are now in the nomination of public corporations or official persons. Meanwhile the parochial synods might perhaps exercise some kind of veto on the appointment of their minister, limited by proper restrictions. A national convention or council of the whole church might be chosen by the

* See Mr. Caswall's "America and the American Church" (2nd edit. 1851), a book which gives a very interesting picture of the practical working of the system which it describes. He tells us that even small parishes elect ten or twelve of these "vestrymen."

several diocesan conventions, due care being taken that not less than half its members should be laymen. This body might do invaluable service, by introducing timely changes into the administrative and executive machinery of the church, by appointing standing committees for carrying out religious and charitable undertakings, such as education of the poor, and missions to the heathen; and by preparing ecclesiastical measures for the sanction of Parliament.

But we dare not linger over these pleasing prospects, lest we should be accused of mingling visionary theories with practical reforms. And, indeed, it is impossible to dwell upon them long without pain; for they force on us the difference between what is and what might have been. The fear cannot but intrude, that we may perchance have exhausted the patience of heaven, and believed too long in the sluggard's gospel "*nunquam sera.*" For though the skeleton of all this goodly fabric exists, it is so dry and lifeless that some are ready to exclaim incredulously, like the prophet in the valley of Chebar, "Can these bones live?" Yet we trust that an answer will be given in the same words by the same power, "I will cause breath to enter into them." We hope, even if it be against hope, that the Church of the future may embody that spirit-stirring vision—"And when I beheld, lo, the sinews and the flesh came upon the bones, and the skin covered them above; and the breath came into them; and they lived, and stood up upon their feet, an exceeding great army."*

* Ezekiel, xxxvii. 8.

MORMONISM.

APRIL, 1854.

1. * *Patriarchal Order, or Plurality of Wives.* By ORSON SPENCER, Chancellor of the University of Deseret. Liverpool: 1853.
2. *The Seer.* Edited by ORSON PRATT. Vol. I. From January, 1853, to December, 1853. Washington: 1853.
3. *Reports of the Scandinavian, Italian, and Prussian Missions of the Latter Day Saints.* Liverpool: 1853.
4. *Millennial Star* [the Weekly Organ of Mormonism], vols. XIV. and XV., from January, 1852, to December, 1853. Liverpool: 1852 and 1853.
5. *History of the Mormons.* By Lieutenant GUNNISON. Philadelphia: 1852.
6. *Survey of Utah.* By Captain STANSBURY. Philadelphia: 1852.
7. *The Mormons. Illustrated by Forty Engravings.* London: 1852.
8. *Letters on the Doctrines.* By O. SPENCER. London: 1852.
9. *Hymns of Latter Day Saints.* London: 1851.
10. *The Mormons.* By THOMAS KANE. Philadelphia: 1850.
11. *A Bill to establish a Territorial Government for Utah.* Washington: 1850.

* To save time and space we shall refer to these works as follows: to (1) as *P. O.*; to (2.) as *Seer*; to (4.) as *XIV.* or *XV.*; to (5.) as *G.*; to (6.) as *S.*; to (7.) as *M. Illust.*; to (8.) as *Spencer*; to (9.) as *Hymns*; to (10.) as *Kane*; to (13.) as *D. C.*; and to (14.) as *Mormon*.

12. *Exposé of Mormonism.* By JOHN BENNETT. Boston : 1842.
13. *Doctrines and Covenants of Latter Day Saints.* Nauvoo : 1846.
14. *The Book of Mormon.* Palmyra : 1830.

THE readers of Southey's "Doctor" must remember the quaint passage in which he affects to predict that his book will become the Scripture of a future Faith; that it will be "dug up among the ruins of London, and considered as one of the sacred books of the sacred island of the West; and give birth to a new religion, called *Dover*y, or *Danielism*, which may have its chapels, churches, cathedrals, abbeys; its synods, consistories, convocations, and councils; its acolytes, sacristans, deacons, priests, prebendaries, canons, deans, bishops, arch-bishops, cardinals, and popes. . . . Its *High-Dovers* and *Low-Dovers* its *Danielites* of a thousand unimagined and unimaginable denominations; its schisms, heresies, seditions, persecutions, and wars." Many must have felt, when they read this grotesque extravaganza, that it almost overstepped the boundary which separates fun from nonsense. Yet its wild imagination has been more than realised by recent facts. While Southey was writing it at Keswick, a manuscript was lying neglected on the dusty shelves of a farmhouse in New England, which was fated to attain more than the honours which he playfully imagines as the future portion of his "Daniel Dove."

The book destined to so singular an apotheosis, was the production of one Solomon Spalding, a Presbyterian preacher in America; of whose history we only know that, like so many others of his class and country, he had abandoned theology for trade, and had subsequently failed in business. Nor can we wonder, judging from

the only extant specimen of his talents, that he should have been thus unfortunate both in the pulpit and at the counter. After his double failure the luckless man, who imagined (according to his widow's statement) that he had "a literary taste," thought to redeem his shattered fortunes by the composition of an historical romance. The subject which he chose was the history of the North American Indians; and the work which he produced was a chronicle of their wars and migrations. They were described as descendants of the patriarch Joseph, and their fortunes were traced for upwards of a thousand years, from the reign of Zedekiah, king of Judah, down to the fifth century of the Christian era. This narrative purported to be a record buried in the earth by Mormon, its last compiler, and was entitled "The Manuscript Found." A manuscript, indeed, it seemed likely to remain. Its author vainly endeavoured to persuade the booksellers to undertake the risk of its publication. Nor does their refusal surprise us; for we do not remember, among all the ponderous folios which human dulness has produced, any other book of such unmitigated stupidity. It seems inconceivable how any man could patiently sit down, day after day, to weary himself with writing sheet after sheet of such sleep-compelling nonsense. Its length is interminable, amounting to above five hundred closely-printed octavo pages. Yet, from the first to the last, though professing to be composed by different authors, under various circumstances, during a period of a thousand years, it is perfectly uniform in style, and maintains the dryness without the brevity of a chronological table. Not a spark of imagination or invention enlivens the weary sameness of the annalist; no incidental pictures of life or manners give colour or relief to the narrative. The

only thing which breaks the prosaic monotony is the insertion of occasional passages from Scripture; and these are so clumsily brought in, that they would seem purposely introduced to show by contrast the worthlessness of the foil in which they are imbedded. Nor is dulness the only literary offence committed by the writer of the Book of Mormon. It is impossible to read three pages of it without stumbling on some gross violation of grammar, such as the following:—“O ye wicked *ones*, hide *thee* in the dust.” “It all *were* vain.” “We had *somewhat contentions*.” “I should have *wore* these bands.” “Why persecuteth *thou* the Church?” “He has *fell*.” “The promises *hath* been.” “Our sufferings *doth* exceed.” “All things which *is* expedient.” These blunders are so uniformly interspersed throughout the work, that they must be ascribed to its author, and not (as they have sometimes* been) to a subsequent interpolator. Yet this worthless book, which its writer could not even get printed in his lifetime, is now stereotyped in the chief languages of Europe, and is regarded by proselytes in every quarter of the globe as a revelation from heaven.

This extraordinary change of fortune was brought about by the successful roguery of a young American named Joseph Smith, the son of a small farmer in Vermont. From an early age this youth had amused himself by practising on the credulity of his simpler neighbours. When he was a boy of fourteen, there occurred in the town of Palmyra, where he then lived, one of

* This hypothesis has been resorted to because people cannot understand how an educated teacher of religion should be capable of such blunders. But in America the literary qualifications for ordination are necessarily reduced to a minimum. In our researches among the Mormonite authors, we have found several examples of *ci-devant* “Ministers,” who not merely write bad grammar, but cannot even spell correctly.

those periods of religious excitement which are called in America *Revivals*. The fervour and enthusiasm which attends these occurrences often produces good effects. Many excellent men have traced the sincere piety which has distinguished them through life, to such an origin. But there is a danger that the genuine enthusiasm of some should provoke hypocrisy in others. So it happened on this occasion in Palmyra. Half the inhabitants were absorbed in the most animated discussion of their deepest religious feelings. Any extraordinary "experience" was sure to attract the eagerest interest. Under these circumstances, young Joseph amused himself by falling in with the prevailing current, and fixing the attention of his pious friends upon himself, by an "experience" more wonderful than any of theirs. He gave out that while engaged in fervent prayer, he had been favoured with a miraculous vision. "I saw," says he, "a pillar of light above the brightness of the sun, which descended gradually upon me. It no sooner appeared, than I found myself delivered from the enemy which held me bound. When the light rested upon me, I saw two personages whose brightness and glory defy all description, standing above me in the air." He goes on in his "Autobiography" (from which we quote) to say, that these heavenly messengers declared all existing Christian sects in error, and forbade him to join any of them. This statement, however, was no doubt an afterthought. At the time, he probably only proclaimed that his "deliverance from the enemy" had been effected by a supernatural appearance.

Such precocious hypocrisy, however painful, is no extraordinary phenomenon. Probably every outburst of kindred excitement develops some similar instance of childish imposture. Examples will occur to those

who are familiar with the early history of Methodism. And we remember lately to have seen a narrative published by a believer in the "Irvingite" miracles, detailing a case where a boy of only seven years old pretended to inspiration, and kept up the farce for many weeks, duping all the while his infatuated parents, and having the impudence seriously to rebuke his old grandfather for unbelief. Children are flattered by the notice which they excite by such pretensions; and, if the credulity of their elders gives them encouragement, are easily tempted to go on from lie to lie. For there is perhaps no period of life more sensible than childhood to the delights of notoriety.

It was, probably, only a desire for this kind of distinction which originally led Joseph Smith to invent his vision. At first, however, he did not meet with the success which he expected. On the contrary, he complains that the story "had excited a great deal of prejudice against him among professors of religion," and that it drew "persecution" upon him. We may suppose that his character for mendacity was already so well known in his own neighbourhood as to discredit his assertions. At all events, he seems thenceforward to have laid aside, till a later period, the part of a religious impostor, and to have betaken himself to less impious methods of cheating. For some years he led a vagabond life, about which little is known, except that he was called "Joe Smith the Money-digger," and that he swindled several simpletons by his pretended skill in the use of the divining-rod. In short, he was a Yankee *Dousterswivel*. Among the shrewd New-Englanders one would have thought such pretensions unlikely to be profitable. But it seems there were legends current of the buried wealth of buccaniers, and Dutch farmers, possessing the re-

quisite amount of gullibility; and on this capital our hero traded.

His gains, however, were but small; and he was struggling with poverty, when at last he lighted on a vein of genuine metal, which, during the remainder of his life, he continued to work with ever-growing profit. This was no other than the rejected and forgotten manuscript of poor Solomon Spalding, which had either been purloined by Smith's associate, Sidney Rigdon, (who had been employed in a printing-office where it was once deposited), or had been stolen out of the trunk of Mrs. Spalding, who lived about this time in the neighbourhood of Smith's father. In one way or another, it fell into Joseph's hands about twelve years after its author's death. The manuscript, as we have said, purported to have been buried by Mormon, its original compiler.* This easily suggested to the imagination of Smith, already full of treasure-trove, the notion of pretending that he had dug it up. At first, however, he seems to have intended nothing more than to hoax the members of his own family. He told them that an angel had revealed to him a bundle of golden plates, engraved with mysterious characters, but had forbidden him to show them to others. His hearers (to his surprise, apparently) seemed inclined to believe his story; and he remarked to a neighbour (whose deposition is published), that he "had fixed the fools, and would have some fun." But it soon occurred to him that his fabrication might furnish what he valued more than "fun." He improved upon his first story of the

* The proofs that the "Book of Mormon," published by Smith, is identical with Spalding's "Manuscript found," are conclusive. The identity is asserted in the depositions of Spalding's widow, of Spalding's brother, and of Spalding's partner, Henry Lake, the two latter of whom swear to their acquaintance with Spalding's manuscript. — (See *Bennett*, 115.)

discovery, by adding, that the angel had also shown him, together with the plates, "two stones in silver bows, fastened to a breastplate, which constituted what is called the *Urim and Thummim*. . . . The possession and use of which constituted *Seers* in ancient times, and God had prepared them for the purpose of translating the book."—(*Smith's Autobiography*, XIV.) Furnished with this mysterious apparatus, he was commanded to translate and publish these divine records. He might reasonably expect that the publication of Spalding's Manuscript, garnished with this miraculous story, would prove a profitable speculation: just as the unsaleable reams of "Drelincourt on Death," were transmuted into a lucrative copyright by the ghost-story of De Foe. On the strength of these expectations, he obtained advances of money from a farmer named Martin Harris.* Concerning this man, as concerning most of the early associates of Smith, we must remain in doubt whether he were a dupe or an accomplice. His cupidity was interested in the success of the "Book of Mormon," and therefore he may be suspected of deceit. On the other hand, he did not reap the profit he expected from the publication, which, as a bookselling speculation, was at first unsuccessful; and he was ruined by the advances he had made. Ultimately, he renounced his faith (real or pretended) in Joseph, who, in revenge, abused him in the newspapers as "a white-skinned negro," and

* "Our translation drawing to a close," says Smith, "we went to Palmyra, secured the copyright, and agreed with Mr. Grandon to print 5000 copies for the sum of 3000 dollars." (*Autob. XIV.*) This sum was supplied by Harris, in accordance with a "revelation" delivered in March, 1830, as follows:—"I command thee that thou shalt not covet thine own property, but impart it freely to the printing of the 'Book of Mormon.' . . . Impart a portion of thy property, yea even part of thy lands. . . . Pay the debt thou hast contracted with the printer."—(*D. C.* sec. 44.)

a "lackey."—(*M. Illust.* 34.) This looks as if he had been a dupe, and not in possession of any dangerous secrets. It is certain that he consulted Professor Anthon at New York on the subject of the mysterious plates; and that he showed the Professor a specimen of the engravings, which Mr. Anthon describes as "evidently prepared by some one who had before him a book containing various alphabets, Greek and Hebrew letters, &c.; the whole ending in a rude delineation of a circle decked with strange marks, and evidently copied after the Mexican Calendar given by Humboldt."* Harris also stated his intention of selling his farm, to provide funds for the translation and publication of these plates. The Professor vainly remonstrated, regarding him as the victim of roguery. Not long after, early in 1830, the Book of Mormon was published, and Harris was employed in hawking it about for sale. He also signed a certificate, which is prefixed to the book, wherein he joins with two other witnesses in testifying the authenticity of the revelation as follows:—"We declare with words of soberness, that an angel of God came down from heaven, and he brought and laid before our eyes [*sic*] that we beheld and saw the plates and the engravings thereon." Eight other witnesses also testify that they had seen the plates, but without the angel. If we are not to consider all these as accomplices in the fraud, we must suppose that Smith had got some brass plates made, and had scratched them over with figures. No one else was allowed to see them; and Joseph informs us, that after he had "accomplished by them what was required at his hand," . . . "according to arrangements the messenger called

* Mr. Anthon's letter to Mr. Howe, Feb. 17. 1834.

for them, and he [the angel] has them in his charge until this day."—(*Autob. XIV.*)

Although the sale of the "Book of Mormon" did not originally repay the cost of publication, yet it made a few converts. It was very soon "revealed" that these proselytes were bound to consecrate their property to the support of Joseph. Thus we find in a revelation of February, 1831:—"It is meet that my servant, Joseph Smith, Junior, should have a house built in which to live and translate."—(*D. C. sec. 13.*) And again:—"If ye desire the mysteries of my kingdom, provide for him food and raiment, and whatsoever thing he needeth."—(*D. C. sec. 14.*) And his love for idleness was gratified by a revelation which commanded it:—"In temporal labours thou shalt not have strength, for that is not thy calling."—(*D. C. sec. 9.*) A singular announcement to be made by a prophet who soon after became the manager of a Bank, partner in a commercial house, Mayor of Nauvoo, General of Militia, and a candidate for the Presidency of the United States.

We see, however, from these revelations (which were all given within twelve months from the publication of the book) that the imposture had already expanded beyond its original dimensions in the mind of its author. At first, he only claims to have miraculously discovered a sacred record, but does not himself pretend to inspiration. Soon, however, he proclaims that he is a prophet divinely commissioned to introduce a new dispensation of religion. And in April, 1830, he receives a revelation establishing him in that character, and commanding the "Church" to "give heed unto all his words and commandments."—(*D. C. sec. 46.*) At the same time it is announced that all existing sects are in sinful error; and their members are required to seek admittance by

baptism into the new church of Joseph Smith. In accordance with this revelation, he proceeded to "organize the Church of *Latter Day Saints*." He and his earliest accomplice, Cowdery, baptized one another; and in the course of the month they baptized twenty or thirty other persons, including Smith's father and two brothers, who, from the first, took a profitable share in the imposture.

In the same year, the new sect was openly joined by one of its most important members, Sidney Rigdon, who had perhaps been previously leagued with Smith in secret.* This man had been successively a printer and a preacher; and in the latter capacity he had belonged to several denominations. It is but too evident, from the impure practices of which he was afterwards convicted at Nauvoo, that he was influenced by none but the most sordid motives in allying himself to the Mormonites. He was one of those adventurers, not uncommon in America, who are preachers this year and publicans the next, hiring alternately a tabernacle or a tavern. In point of education, however, Rigdon, though far from learned, was superior to his vulgar and ignorant associates. It was therefore revealed that he should take the literary business of the new partnership. (*D. C.* sec. 11.) Accordingly, the earlier portion of the "Doctrines and Covenants" (the Mormonite New Testament) was composed by him; and he thus became the theological founder of the sect, so far as it had at that time any distinctive creed. For the "Book of Mormon" itself contains no novel dogmas, nor any statements which would be considered heretical by the ma-

* *I. e.*, if we suppose that Rigdon was the person who had conveyed Spalding's MS. to Smith.

majority of Protestants, except the condemnation of infant baptism, and the assertion of the perpetuity of miraculous gifts.* Smith had apparently left the work of Spalding unaltered, except by interpolating a few words on this latter subject, which were necessary to support his own supernatural stories. But Rigdon encouraged him to take a bolder flight. He announced the materialistic doctrines which have since been characteristic of the sect; he departed from the orthodox Trinitarianism which had been adopted in the "Book of Mormon;"† and to him may be probably attributed the introduction of baptism for the dead. Moreover, under his influence the constitution of the Mormonite Church was remodelled. Joseph had begun by adopting the ordinary Presbyterian divisions; but now a more complex organi-

* It is a curious fact that the English Irvingites, who also hold the latter doctrine, sent a deputation with a letter, not long after the publication of the "Book of Mormon," to express their sympathy with Joseph Smith. The letter professes to emanate from a Council of "Pastors." — (XV. 260.) It begins as follows: — "Dear brethren in the Lord: — At a council of the pastors of the church, held March 28, 1835, upon the propriety of the Rev. John Hewitt visiting you, it was resolved that . . . he should have, as he desired, the sanction of the council." The letter proceeds to express sympathy in the Mormonite movement, and is signed "Thomas Shaw, Barnsley, April 21. 1835."

[Since the first publication of this note, we have received several letters from correspondents who belong to the (so-called) "Irvingite" sect, all of whom express their belief that the above-mentioned letter was forged by John Hewitt. One gentleman (who signs himself W. R. Caird) asserts, that Mr. Hewitt was believed by the late Mr. Irving to have been guilty of forging letters of recommendation from America; and he further asserts that there never was any Irvingite church at Barnsley.]

No proofs have been furnished to us in support of these assertions; and there is certainly no internal evidence of forgery in the letter presented by John Hewitt to Joseph Smith. At the same time, we think it right to mention that its authenticity is now denied by several members of the sect from which it professed to emanate.]

† "Q. How many personages are there in the Godhead?—*Ans.* Two." — (*D. C.* p. 47.)

sation was introduced, and it was revealed that the true Church must necessarily possess all those officers who existed in the primitive epoch — Apostles, Prophets, Patriarchs, Evangelists, Elders, Deacons, Pastors, Teachers; besides a twofold hierarchy of Priests, called by the respective names of Aaron and of Melchisedek. The object of this change was to give an official position to every active and serviceable adherent, and to establish a compact subordination throughout the whole body; an object in which no religious society except that of the Jesuits has more completely succeeded.

While rendering such services to his new associates, Rigdon did not neglect his private interests. He immediately obtained the second place in rank; and after a short time he compelled his accomplice to receive a revelation which raised him to equality with the Prophet.—(*D. C.* sec. 85.) He was thus enabled to claim his fair share in the spoil of dupes whom he so largely contributed to deceive.

Under these new auspices the Sect made rapid progress. But while Joseph continued in the district where his youth was spent, there were many stumbling-blocks in his path. The indignation of his neighbours was naturally roused by the successful frauds of a man whom they had despised as a cheat and liar from his cradle. He vainly endeavoured to disarm such feelings, by candidly avowing his past iniquities; those who had known him from boyhood were not easily persuaded to believe in his repentance. And since, in America, there is but a short step from popular anger to popular violence, it was his obvious policy to withdraw before the storm should burst. Rigdon had already made numerous converts in Kirtland, a town of Ohio; and a nucleus was thus formed to which new proselytes might

be gathered in sufficient numbers to defend their master and themselves. Hither, therefore, Joseph removed, early in 1831. But though Kirtland was for some years the centre of his operations, yet he never intended to make it his permanent abode. He already perceived that, to avail himself fully of the advantages of his position, he must assemble his disciples in a commonwealth of their own, where no unbeliever should intrude to dispute his supremacy. This was impossible in the older States of the Union, but it appeared quite practicable on the Western frontier. There land could be bought for next to nothing, in a territory almost uninhabited; and it might be reasonably presumed that a few thousand converts once established, and constantly reinforced by the influx of new proselytes, might maintain themselves against any attack which was likely to be made upon them. Acting on these views, Smith and Rigdon, after a tour of inspection, selected a site on the borders of the wilderness, which was recommended by richness of soil and facilities of water carriage. Joseph immediately put forth a string of revelations, which declared that "Zion" was in Jackson County, Missouri, and commanded all the "Saints" to purchase land at the sacred spot, and hasten to take possession of their inheritance. —(*D. C.* sec. 66. to sec. 73.)

Within a few months no less than twelve hundred had obeyed the call, and employed themselves with all the energy of American backwoodsmen in cultivating the soil of the new Jerusalem. These converts were mostly from the Eastern States, and seem to have been, in habits and character, superior to the common run of squatters. Colonel Kane, who visited them at a later period, contrasts them favourably as "persons of refined and cleanly habits and decent language," with the

other "border inhabitants of Missouri—the vile scum which our society, like the great ocean, washes upon its frontier shores." They seem to have consisted principally of small farmers, together with such tradesmen and mechanics as are required by an agricultural colony. Nor were they without considerable shrewdness and intelligence in secular matters, however inconsistent we may think their credulity with common sense. By their axes and their ploughs, the forest soon was turned into a fruitful field; their meadows were filled with kine, and their barns with sheaves. Unfortunately for themselves, they did not unite prudence with their industry. They were too enthusiastically certain of their triumph, to temporize or conciliate. Their prophet had declared that Zion should be established, and should put down her enemies under her feet. Why, then, should they hesitate to proclaim their anticipations? They boasted openly that they should soon possess the whole country, and that the unbelievers should be rooted out from the land. These boasts excited the greatest indignation, not unaccompanied by some fear; for the old settlers saw the number of their new neighbours increasing weekly, and knew that their compact organisation gave them a power more than proportionate to their numerical strength. Legally, however, there were no means of preventing these strangers from accomplishing their intentions. For every citizen of the Union had an undoubted right to buy land in Jackson County, and to believe that Joseph Smith, Junior, was a prophet. But in America, when the members of a local majority have made up their minds that a certain course is agreeable to their interests or their passions, the fact that it is illegal seldom prevents its adoption. The Jacksonians knew that they had at present a majority over the Mor-

nonites, and they resolved to avail themselves of this advantage before it was too late, lest, in their turn, they should be outnumbered, and thereby be liable to those pains and penalties which are the portion of a minority in the Great Republic. The citizens of the county therefore convened a public meeting, wherein they agreed upon the following (among other) resolutions:—

“*That* no Mormon shall in future move and settle in this country.

“*That* those now here who shall give a pledge within a reasonable time to remove out of the country, shall be allowed to remain unmolested until they have sufficient time to sell their property.

“*That* the editor of ‘The Star’ (the Mormon paper) be required forthwith to discontinue the business of printing in this country.

“*That* those who fail to comply with these requisitions, be referred to their brethren who have the gifts of divination and unknown tongues to inform them of the lot that awaits them.”

These resolutions were at once communicated to the Mormon leaders; but, as they did not immediately submit, the meeting unanimously resolved to raze to the ground the office of the obnoxious newspaper. This resolution was forthwith carried into effect, and the Mormon “Bishop” (a creature of Smith’s, who presided in his absence) was tarred and feathered; an appropriate punishment enough, which had also been administered to his master, not long before, by a mob in Ohio.

Notwithstanding these hostile demonstrations, the Mormons could not bring themselves to leave their newly-purchased lands without resistance. They appealed to the legal tribunals for redress, and organized

a militia, which maintained for some time a guerilla warfare against their antagonists. At length, however, they were overpowered by numbers, and abandoned their beloved Zion. But most of them found refuge in the adjoining counties, where they gradually acquired fresh property, and continued for four years in tranquillity.

Meanwhile their prophet had remained snugly established at Kirtland, which he wisely judged a more desirable home than the wild land of Zion, till the latter should be comfortably colonized by his adherents. Hence he sent out his "apostles" and "elders" in all directions to make proselytes, which they continued to do with great success. The first duty imposed on all converts was the payment of *tithing* to the "Church." —(*D. C.* sec. 107.) And those who received the commands of Joseph as the voice of God, did not hesitate to furnish this conclusive proof of the reality of their faith. On the strength of the capital thus placed at his disposal, Smith established at Kirtland a mercantile house and a bank. We find, from his autobiography, that the whole Smith family were at liberty to draw without stint from the common stock; and their ill-gotten gains were squandered as recklessly as might have been expected. Embarrassment ensued, and several revelations called upon the saints for money to prop the Prophet's credit.* At length the crash came. The firm failed, the bank stopped payment, and the managers were threatened with a prosecution for swindling. To escape the sheriff's writ, Smith and Rigdon were obliged to fly by night; and they took refuge among their followers in Missouri.

* See "Smith's Autobiography," under date of March, 1834.

This occurred in the autumn of 1837, four years after the expulsion of the saints from Zion. That expulsion had painfully falsified the prophecies of Smith, who had so completely committed himself to the successful establishment of his people in the spot which he had first chosen, that he did not acquiesce in their abandonment of it without a struggle. In February, 1834, soon after their ejection, he had promised their immediate restoration in the following revelation:—"Verily I say unto you, I have decreed that your brethren that have been scattered shall return . . . Behold the redemption of Zion must needs come by power. Therefore I will raise up unto my people a man who shall lead them, like as Moses led the children of Israel. . . . Verily I say unto you, that my servant Baurak Ale is the man . . . Therefore let my servant Baurak Ale say unto the strength of my house, my young men and the middle-aged, gather yourselves together unto the land of Zion. . . . And let all the churches send up wise men with their monies, and purchase land as I have commanded them. And, inasmuch as mine enemies come against you, to drive you from my goodly land which I have consecrated to be the land of Zion, . . . ye shall curse them; and whomsoever ye curse I will curse. . . . It is my will that my servant Parley Pratt, and my servant Lyman Wight, should not return until they have obtained companies to go up unto the land of Zion, by tens, or by twenties, or by fifties, or by an hundred, until they have obtained to the number of five hundred, of the strength of my house. Behold this is my will; but men do not always do my will; therefore, if you cannot obtain five hundred, seek diligently that peradventure you may obtain three hundred, and if ye cannot obtain three hundred, seek dili-

gently that peradventure ye may obtain one hundred.”
—(*D. C.* sec. 101.)

By such efforts a volunteer force of 150 men had been raised, and had marched from Kirtland in June, 1834, to reinstate the saints in their inheritance.* Joseph also, who, to do him justice, seems not to have lacked physical courage, had marched at their head; though why he superseded “Baurak Ale,” the divinely-appointed Moses of the host, we are not informed. The little force had safely reached their brethren in Missouri; but the Prophet, finding they were not strong enough to effect their purpose, had disbanded them without fighting, and had himself returned to Kirtland, where he had remained till the commercial crisis which we have just mentioned.

When thus finally driven to take refuge among his followers, Smith found them in a very critical position. Four years had passed since their expulsion from Zion, and they had established themselves in greater numbers than before, in the counties bordering on that whence they had been driven. They had cultivated the soil with perseverance and success, were daily increasing in wealth, and had built two towns (or *cities*, as they called them) *Diahman* and *Far-west*. But their prudence had not grown with their prosperity. They thought themselves a match for their enemies, and fearlessly provoked them by repeating their former boasts. The Prophet’s arrival added fuel to the flame. The disgraceful failure of his prophecies still rankled in his mind. He declared publicly among his disciples, that “he would yet tread down his enemies, and trample on their dead bodies;” and that, “like Mahomet, whose motto was *the Koran or*

* See *M. Star*, XV. 69. 205.

the sword, so should it be eventually, *Joseph Smith or the sword.*"* These and similar facts were disclosed to the Missourians by apostate Mormons, and excited great exasperation. At length a collision occurred at a county election, and open warfare began. For some weeks the contest was maintained on equal terms, and both parties burnt and destroyed the property of their antagonists with no decisive result. But, finally, the governor of Missouri called out the militia of the State, nominally to enforce order, but really to exterminate the Mormons. They were unable to resist the overwhelming force brought against them, and surrendered almost at discretion, as appears from the following terms which they accepted: First, To deliver up their leaders for trial; secondly, To lay down their arms; thirdly, To sign over their properties, as an indemnity for the expenses of the war; and lastly, To leave the State forthwith. The spirit in which this last condition was enforced will appear from the conclusion of an address delivered to the Mormons by General Clark, the commander of the hostile forces: — "Another thing yet remains for you to comply with — that you leave the State forthwith. Whatever your feelings concerning this affair; whatever your innocence; it is nothing to me. The orders of the governor to me were that you should be *exterminated*; and had your leader not been given up, and the treaty complied with, *before this you and your families would have been destroyed, and your houses in ashes.*"

The results of this contest seemed likely to be fatal

* The above statements are in an affidavit (given in "Mormonism Illustrated") made in October, 1838, and countersigned by Orson Hyde, who is now the chairman of the Apostolic College. Whether he was then a renegade, who has since repented; or whether he made these confessions under compulsion, we have no information.

to the Prophet, who was given up to the State authorities, to be tried on charges of treason, murder, and felony, arising out of the war. But he contrived to escape from his guards, and thus avoided, for a time, the justice of a border jury. He fled to Illinois, where he found the remnant of his persecuted proselytes, who had been compelled to cross the bleak prairies, exposed to the snow-storms of November, with no other shelter than their waggons for sick and wounded, women and children: 12,000 of these exiles crossed the Mississippi, which separates the States of Missouri and Illinois. By the citizens of the latter they were received with compassionate hospitality, and relieved with gifts of food and clothing.

In a wonderfully short time the sect displayed once more its inherent vitality, and that strength which springs from firm union and voluntary obedience. Soon its numbers were increased by the arrival of proselytes to 15,000 souls. For the third time they gathered themselves together in a new settlement, and built the town of Nauvoo, in a strong position on the banks of the Mississippi, which nearly surrounds the peninsula selected for their capital. In eighteen months the city contained 2000 houses. The prairies were changed into corn-fields, the hills covered with flocks and herds, and steamers landed merchandise and colonists upon wharves which had superseded the aboriginal marsh. Here the Mormonites seemed at last securely established in a commonwealth of their own, and Joseph was permitted, for five years, to enjoy the rich fruits of his imposture undisturbed. The wealth at his disposal was continually increasing, both from the tithing of his old converts (which augmented with their growing property), and from the contributions of new proselytes. These were

now flowing in, not only from the United States, but even from Europe. In 1837, a mission had been sent to England, and the Mormon apostles baptized 10,000 British subjects before the Prophet's death. New revelations summoned all these converts to Nauvoo, bringing with them "their gold, their silver, and their precious stones."—(*D. C.* sec. 103.) A mansion-house was begun, where the Prophet and his family were to be lodged and maintained at the public cost. "Let it be built in my name, and let my servant Joseph Smith and his house have place therein from generation to generation, saith the Lord; and let the name of the house be called the Nauvoo House, and let it be a delightful habitation for man."—(*D. C.* sec. 103.) But, while thus providing for his own comfort, Joseph was careful to divert the attention of his followers from his private gains by a public object of expenditure, which might seem to absorb the revenues under his charge. As he had before done at Kirtland, so now at Nauvoo, he began the building of a temple. But this was to be on a far grander scale than the former edifice, and was to be consecrated by the most awful ceremonies. For here alone (so it was revealed) could the rite of baptism for the dead be efficaciously performed.—(*D. C.* sec. 103.) The foundation of this temple was laid with military and civil pomp early in 1841.

Meanwhile the State of Illinois had granted a charter of incorporation to the city of Nauvoo, and Joseph Smith was elected Mayor. Moreover, the citizens capable of bearing arms were formed into a well-organized militia, to which weapons were supplied by the State. This body of troops, which was called the *Nauvoo Legion*, was perpetually drilled by the Prophet, who had been appointed its commander, and who thenceforward

adopted the style and title of "General Smith." On all public occasions it was his delight to appear on horseback in full uniform at the head of his little army, which consisted of about 4000 men*, and was in a state of great efficiency. An officer who saw it reviewed in 1842, says of it, "Its evolutions would do honour to any body of armed militia in the States, and approximate very closely to our regular forces."—(*M. Illust.* 115.) The "Inspector-General" of the legion was a General Bennett, who had served in the United States' army. His correspondence with Joseph is one of the most curious illustrations of the Prophet's character. Bennett offers his services in a letter wherein he avows entire disbelief in Smith's religious pretensions, but, at the same time, declares himself willing to assume the outward appearance of belief. He had gone so far as to submit to Mormon baptism, which he calls "a glorious frolic in the clear blue ocean, with your worthy friend Brigham Young."

"Nothing of this kind" (he adds) "would in the least attach me to your person and cause. I am capable of being a most undeviating friend, *without being governed by the smallest religious influence*. . . . I say, therefore, *go a-head*. You know, Mahomet had his *right-hand man*. The celebrated T. Brown, of New York, is now engaged in cutting your head on a beautiful cornelian stone, as your private seal, which will be set in gold to your order, and sent to you. . . . Should I be compelled to announce in this quarter that I have no connection with the Nauvoo Legion, you will, of course, remain silent. . . . I may yet run for a high office in your State, when you would be sure of my best service

* Spencer, p. 237.

in your behalf. Therefore a *known* connection with you would be against our mutual interest."

To this candid proposal Smith replied in a letter which affects to rebuke the scepticism of Bennett ; but, so far was he from feeling any real indignation at the proposed partnership in imposture, that he consents to the request about the Legion, and accepts the offered bribe as follows :— " As to the private seal you mention, if sent to me, I shall receive it with the gratitude of a servant of God, and pray that the donor may receive a reward in the resurrection of the just."

Mr. Caswall, an American clergyman, visited Nauvoo about this time, and gives the following curious account of his interview with Joseph Smith :—" Smith is a coarse plebeian person in aspect, and his countenance exhibits a curious mixture of the knave and the clown. His hands are large and awkward, and on one of his fingers he wears a massive gold ring. He has a downcast look, and possesses none of that open and straightforward expression which generally characterizes an honest man. His language is uncouth and ungrammatical, indicating very confused notions respecting syntactical concords. When an ancient Greek manuscript of the Psalms was exhibited to him as a test of his scholarship, he boldly pronounced it to be a '*Dictionary of Egyptian hieroglyphics.*' Pointing to the capital letters at the commencement of each verse, he said, ' Them figures is Egyptian hieroglyphics, and them which follows is the interpretation of the hieroglyphics, written in the *reformed Egyptian* language. Them characters is like the letters that was engraved on the golden plates.' He afterwards proceeded to show his papyrus, and to explain the inscriptions ; but probably suspecting that the author designed to entrap him, he suddenly left the apartment,

leaped into his light waggon, and drove away as fast as possible. The author could not properly avoid expressing his opinion of the prophet to the assembled Mormons; and was engaged for several hours in a sharp controversy with various eminent dignitaries. As the City Council had passed an ordinance, under which any stranger in Nauvoo speaking disrespectfully of the prophet might be arrested and imprisoned without process*, the author deemed himself happy in leaving Nauvoo unmolested, after plainly declaring to the Mormons that they were the dupes of a base and blaspheming impostor. During a visit of three days, he had an opportunity of attending their Sunday services, which were held in a grove adjoining the unfinished temple. About two thousand persons were present, and the appearance of the congregation was quite respectable."†

Every year now added to the wealth and population of Nauvoo, and consequently to the security of its citizens and the glory of its Mayor. Smith's head was so far turned by his success, that in 1844 he offered himself as a candidate for the Presidency of the Union. Probably, however, this proceeding was only meant as a bravado. In Nauvoo itself he reigned supreme, and opposition was put down by the most summary proceedings. The contributions of his votaries, and the zeal of their obedience, fed fat his appetite for riches and power. Nor was he restrained from the indulgence of more sensual passions, which ease and indolence had bred. In July, 1843, he received a revelation authorizing him, and all those whom he should license, to take an unlimited number of wives.‡ This document is too

* Testimony of Bennett, "Louisville Journal," Aug. 3. 1842.

† Prophet of the 19th century. By Rev. H. Caswall, p. 223.

‡ This revelation is printed in full in "M. Star," XV. p. 5.

long to quote in full, but the manner in which it silences the remonstrances of Smith's wife is too curious to be omitted:—"Let mine handmaid, Emma Smith, receive all those who have been given unto my servant Joseph, and who are virtuous and pure before me. . . . Therefore it shall be lawful in me if she receive not this law, for him to receive all things whatsoever I the Lord his God will give him. . . . And he is exempt from the law of Sarah, who administered unto Abraham according unto the law, when I commanded Abraham to take Hagar to wife."

On this revelation Smith and his chief adherents proceeded to act. But they at first concealed the innovation under a profound mystery, and during ten years it was only communicated privately to the initiated, and its very existence continued unknown to the majority of the sect. Not many months have yet passed since the Mormon leaders have decided on a bolder policy, and have publicly avowed this portion of their system. Their present audacity, indeed, is more strange than their former reserve; considering that the consequences of the original invention of this new code of morals were fatal to the Prophet, and disastrous to the Church. For, though the revelation was concealed, the practices which it sanctioned were not easily hidden, especially when some months of impunity had given boldness to the perpetrators. Several women whom Joseph and his "apostles" had endeavoured to seduce, declined their proposals, and disclosed them to their relatives. These circumstances roused into activity a latent spirit of resistance which had for some time been secretly gathering force. The malcontents now ventured to establish an opposition paper called the "Expositor;" and published, in its first number, the affidavits of six-

teen women, who alleged that Smith, Rigdon, Young, and others had invited them to enter into a secret and illicit connection, under the title of *spiritual marriage*. This open and dangerous rebellion was put down forthwith, by the application of physical force. Joseph Smith ordered a body of his disciples to "abate the nuisance;" and they razed the office of the "Expositor" to the ground. The proprietors fled for their lives, and, when they reached a place of safety, sued out a writ from the legal authorities of Illinois, against Joseph and Hiram Smith, as abettors of the riot. The execution of the warrant was resisted by the people and troops of Nauvoo under the Prophet's authority. On this the Governor of the State called out the militia to enforce the law, and required that the two brothers should be given up for trial. Joseph had now only the alternative of war or submission. But hostilities would have been hopeless, for his troops only amounted to 4000 men, while the militia of the State numbered 80,000.* He therefore thought it the wiser course to surrender, especially as the Governor pledged his honour for the personal safety of the prisoners. They were accordingly committed to the county jail at Carthage. A small body of troops was left to defend the prison, but they proved either inadequate or indisposed to the performance of their duty.

The popular mind of Illinois was at this time strongly excited against the Mormonites. The same causes which had led to their expulsion from Zion and from Missouri were again actively at work. Their rapid growth, and apparently invincible elasticity in rising under oppression, had roused even more than the former

* Spencer. p. 236, 237. (Mr. Spencer was resident at the time in Nauvoo.)

jealousy. It seemed probable that before long the influx of foreign proselytes might raise the Prophet to supremacy. Why not use the power which the circumstances of the moment placed in their hands, take summary vengeance on the impostor, and for ever defeat the ambitious schemes of his adherents? Under the influence of such hopes and passions, a body of armed men was speedily collected, who overpowered the feeble guard, burst open the doors of the jail, and fired their rifles upon the prisoners. A ball killed Hiram on the spot; when Joseph, who was armed with a revolver, after returning two shots, attempted to escape by leaping the window; but he was stunned by his fall, and while still in a state of insensibility, was picked up and shot by the mob outside the jail. He died on June the 27th, 1844, in the thirty-ninth year of his age.

Thus perished this profligate and sordid knave, by a death too honourable for his deserts. In England he would have been sent to the treadmill for obtaining money on false pretences. In America he was treacherously murdered without a trial; and thus our contempt for the victim is changed into horror for his executioners. The farce which he had played should not have been invested with a factitious dignity by a tragic end. Yet, when we consider the audacious blasphemies in which he had traded for so many years, and the awful guilt which he had incurred in making the voice of Heaven pander to his own avarice and lust, we cannot deny that, in his punishment, the wrath of lawless men fulfilled the righteousness of God. Secure in the devotion of his armed disciples, and at an age when he could still look forward to a long life of fraud, luxury, and ambition, he had exclaimed—"Soul, thou hast much goods laid up for many years; take thine ease, eat, drink, and be merry."

But the sentence had gone forth against him—"Thou fool, this night thy soul shall be required of thee."

To call such a man a martyr is an abuse of language which we regret to find in a writer so intelligent as Mr. Mayhew. A martyr is one who refuses to save his life by renouncing his faith. Joseph Smith never had such an option given him. We doubt not that, if he could have escaped from the rifles of his murderers by confessing his imposture, he would have done so without hesitation; and would the next day have received a revelation, directing the faithful to seek safety in recantation when threatened by the Gentiles. But his enemies knew him too well to give him such an opportunity.

We must also protest against the attempt to represent this vulgar swindler as a sincere enthusiast. "There is much in his later career," says Mr. Mayhew, "which seems to prove that he really believed what he asserted—that he imagined himself the inspired of heaven . . . and the companion of angels." The reason given for this charitable hypothesis is, that "Joseph Smith, in consequence of his pretensions to be a seer and prophet, lived a life of continual misery and persecution;" and that, if he had not been supported by "faith in his own high pretensions and divine mission," he would have "renounced his *unprofitable* and ungrateful task, and sought refuge in private life and honourable industry." The answer to such representations is obvious: First, so far from Joseph's scheme being "unprofitable," it raised him from the depths of poverty to unbounded wealth. Secondly, he had from his earliest years shrunk from "honourable industry," and preferred fraud to work. Thirdly, so far from his having lived in "continual misery and persecution," he gained by his successful imposture the means of indulging every appe-

tite and passion. During the fourteen years which intervened between his invention of Mormonism and his death, the only real persecution which he suffered was, when his bankruptcy at Kirtland compelled him to share the fortunes of his followers in Missouri. And as to the risks of life and limb to which he was exposed, they were nothing to those which every soldier encounters for a shilling a day.

It is inexplicable how any one who had ever looked at Joseph's portrait, could imagine him to have been by possibility an honest man. Never did we see a face on which the hand of Heaven had more legibly written rascal. That self-complacent simper, that sensual mouth, that leer of vulgar cunning, tell us at one glance the character of their owner. Success, the criterion of fools, has caused many who ridicule his creed to magnify his intellect. Yet we can discover in his career no proof of conspicuous ability. Even the plan of his imposture was neither original nor ingenious. It may be said that, without great intellectual power, he could not have subjected so many thousands to his will, nor formed them into so flourishing a commonwealth. But it must be remembered, that when subjects are firmly persuaded of the divinity of their sovereign, government becomes an easy task. Even with such advantages, Smith's administration was by no means successful. He was constantly involved in difficulties which better management would have avoided, and which the policy of his successor has overcome. We are inclined to believe that the sagacity shown in the construction of his ecclesiastical system, belonged rather to his lieutenants than to himself; and that his chief, if not his only talent, was his gigantic impudence. This was the rock whereon he built his church; and his success

proves how little ingenuity is needed to deceive mankind.

The men of Illinois imagined that the death of the false prophet would annihilate the sect; and the opinion was not unreasonable. For it seemed certain that there would be a contest among the lieutenants of Joseph for his vacant throne; and it was probable that the Church would thus be shattered into fragments mutually destructive. Such a contest, indeed, did actually occur; and four claimants, Sidney Rigdon, William Smith, Lyman Wight, and Brigham Young, disputed the allegiance of the faithful. But the latter was unanimously supported by the Apostolic College, of which he was chairman. This body was obeyed by the great majority of the inhabitants of Nauvoo; and a General Council of the Church, summoned about six weeks after Joseph's death, excommunicated the other pretenders, and even ventured to "deliver over to Satan" the great Rigdon himself, although their Sacred Books declared him equal with the Prophet; who had, however, latterly shown a disposition to slight and humble him. The Mormons throughout the world acquiesced in this decision; and Brigham Young was established in the post of "Seer, Revelator, and President of the Latter Day Saints."

The first months of the new reign were tolerably peaceful. The enemies of Zion were satisfied with the fatal blow which they had dealt; and the saints were suffered to gather the harvest of that year without disturbance. But in the following winter it became evident to the independent electors of Illinois, that the sect, far from being destroyed, was becoming more formidable than ever. New emigrants still continued to pour into Nauvoo; and the temple was daily rising above the sacred hill, in token of defiance. Exasperated by these visible

proofs of their failure, the inhabitants of the nine adjoining counties met together, and formed an alliance for the extermination of their detested neighbours.

Henceforward it was evident that, while the Mormons continued to inhabit Nauvoo, they must live in a perpetual state of siege, and till their fields with a plough in one hand and a rifle in the other. Moreover, experience had shown that elements of disunion existed even among themselves. So long as they were established in any of the settled States, they could not exclude unbelievers from among them. There must always be Gentile strangers who would intrude among the saints for lucre's sake, and form a nucleus round which disappointed or traitorous members might rally, and create internal conflict. This could only be avoided by the transplantation of the Mormon commonwealth beyond the reach of foreign contact. Actuated by these reasons, the leaders who met to deliberate on the steps demanded by the crisis, came to a decision which, adventurous as it seemed, has proved no less wise than bold. They resolved to migrate in a body far beyond the boundaries of the United States, and to interpose a thousand miles of wilderness between themselves and the civilized world. In the fastnesses of the Rocky Mountains, the Alps of North America, they determined to seek that freedom, civil and religious, which was denied them by their countrymen. In a hymn composed for the occasion, they express this Phocæan resolution as follows:—

“ We'll burst off all our fetters, and break the Gentile yoke,
For long it has beset us, but now it shall be broke.

No more shall Jacob bow his neck ;

Henceforth he shall be great and free

In Upper California.

Oh, that's the land for me !

Oh, that's the land for me !”—(*Hymns*, 353.)

Their decision was announced to the saints throughout the world by a General Epistle, which bears date Jan. 20, 1846. It was also communicated to their hostile neighbours, who agreed to allow the Mormons time to sell their property, on condition that they should leave Nauvoo before the ensuing summer. A pioneer party of sixteen hundred persons started before the conclusion of winter, in hopes of reaching their intended settlement in time to prepare a reception for the main body by the close of autumn. But the season was unusually cold, and their supply of food proved inadequate. Intense suffering brought on disease, which rapidly thinned their numbers. Yet the survivors pressed on undauntedly, and even provided for their friends who were to follow, by laying out farms in the wilderness, and planting them with grain. Thus they struggled onwards, from the Mississippi to the Missouri, on the banks of which they encamped, beyond the limits of the States, not far from the point of its junction with its great tributary, the Platte. They had resolved to settle in some part of the Californian territory, which then belonged to Mexico; and it happened that, at this time, the Mexican war having begun, the Government of the Union wished to march a body of troops into California, and invited the Mormon emigrants to furnish a body of five hundred volunteers for the service. This requisition is now represented by the Mormons as a new piece of persecution. Yet they complied with it at the time without hesitation; and five hundred of their number were thus conveyed across the continent at the expense of Government; and yet rejoined their brethren among the Rocky Mountains in the following summer, after having discovered the Californian gold-diggings on their way. As no compulsion was exercised, it was evident

that the Mormon leaders must have judged it expedient thus to diminish their numbers, which were at that time too great for their means of support. But it is admitted by Captain Stansbury (the officer employed by the United States in the survey of Utah), that the drain of this Mexican battalion prevented the remainder of the pioneers from reaching the Mountains that season. They therefore formed an encampment on the banks of the Missouri, where they were joined in the course of the summer and autumn by successive parties from Nauvoo. Meanwhile those who had remained in the city occupied themselves, during the precarious truce which they enjoyed, in finishing their temple. This building, the completion of which had been invested with a mysterious importance by the revelations of their prophet, was a huge and ugly pile of limestone, strongly resembling Bloomsbury Church. But as it was far superior in architectural pretensions to any of the meeting-houses in the neighbouring States, it was looked upon in the West as a miracle of art. The Mormon High Priests returned from their frontier camp to consecrate it on the day of its completion, in May, 1846. The following sample of the consecration service will probably satisfy our readers:—

“Ho, ho! for the Temple’s completed,
 The Lord hath a place for his head;
 The priesthood in power now lightens
 The way of the living and dead.
 See, see! ’mid the world’s dreadful splendours,
Christianity, folly, and sword,
 The Mormons, the diligent Mormons,
 Have reared up this House to the Lord.”
 (*Hymns, 333.*)

This ceremony had a disastrous influence on the for-

tunes of the remaining citizens. "It was construed," says Colonel Kane, "to indicate an insincerity on the part of the Mormons as to their stipulated departure, or at least a hope of return; and their foes set upon them with renewed bitterness

A vindictive war was waged upon them, from which the weakest fled in scattered parties, leaving the rest to make a reluctant and almost ludicrously unavailing defence, till the 17th of September, when 1625 troops entered Nauvoo, and drove forth all who had not retreated before that time."

Thus, once more, the lawless tyranny of a majority trampled down the rights of a minority. These instances of triumphant outrage, which have recurred so often in our narrative, are not only striking as pictures of American life, but may also furnish an instructive warning to some among ourselves. They force upon us the conclusion, that laws are not more willingly obeyed because made by universal suffrage. They teach us that, in those communities where every man has an equal share in legislation, the ordinances of the legislature are treated with a contemptuous disregard, for which the history of other nations can furnish no precedent. The mob, knowing that they can enact laws when they please, infer that they may dispense with that formality at discretion, and accomplish their will directly, without the intermediate process of recording it in the statute-book. They can make the law, therefore they may break the law; as the barbarous Romans claimed the right of killing the sons they had begotten.

We must refer to Colonel Kane for a picturesque account of the appearance of Nauvoo after its desertion, and of the sufferings of its helpless citizens, who were driven across the Mississippi by their foes. It was with

pain and toil that these last unfortunate exiles reached the camp of their brethren. "Like the wounded birds of a flock fired into towards nightfall, they came straggling on with faltering steps, many of them without bag or baggage, all asking shelter or burial, and forcing a fresh repartition of the already divided rations of their friends." At last, towards the close of autumn, all these emigrants had rejoined the main body, in the valley of the Missouri. And there they prepared to meet the severity of winter, in the depth of an Indian wilderness. The stronger members of the party had employed the summer in cutting and storing hay for the cattle, and in laying up such supplies of food as they could obtain. But these labours had been interrupted by a destructive fever, bred by the pestilential vapours of the marshy plain, which decimated their numbers. When winter came upon them, they were but ill prepared to meet it. For want of other shelter they were fain to dig caves in the ground, and huddle together there for warmth. Many of the cattle died of starvation; and the same fate was hardly escaped by the emaciated owners.

At length the spring came to relieve their wretchedness. Out of twenty thousand Mormons who had formed the population of Nauvoo and its environs, little more than three thousand were now assembled on the Missouri. Of the rest many had perished miserably; and many had dispersed in search of employment, to wait a more convenient season for joining their friends. The hardiest of the saints who still adhered to the camp of Israel, were now organized into a company of pioneers; and they set out, to the number of 143 men, up the valley of the Platte, to seek a home among the Rocky Mountains. They carried rations for six months, agricultural implements, and seed grain; and were accom-

panied by the President and his chief counsellors. After three months' journey they reached the valley of the Great Salt Lake on the 21st of July. And here they determined to bring their wanderings to a close, and to establish a "Stake of Zion."* But they had small time to rest from their fatigues. Immediately on their arrival a fort was erected to secure them against the Indians, with log-houses opening upon a square, into which they drove their cattle at night. "In five days a field was consecrated, fenced, ploughed, and planted."—(*G.* 134.) Before the autumn they were re-joined by their brethren whom they had left on the Missouri. This large body, consisting of about three thousand persons, including many women and children, journeyed across the unknown desert with the discipline of a veteran army. Colonel Kane, who had been an eye-witness, describes with admiration "the strict order of march, the unconfused closing up to meet attack, the skilful securing of cattle upon the halt, the system with which the watches were set at night to guard the camp. . . . Every ten of their waggon was under the care of a captain; this captain of ten obeyed a captain of fifty; who in turn obeyed a member of the *High Council of the Church*."

By the aid of this admirable organization, they triumphed over the perils of the desert; and, after a weary pilgrimage of a thousand miles, came at last within view of their destined home. The last portion of their route, which led them into the defiles of the

* All the Mormon settlements are called "*Stakes of Zion*" to distinguish them from Jackson County, Missouri, which is "*Zion*." This is ultimately to be reconquered by the saints, and thus Joseph's prophecy (which their expulsion seemed to falsify) is to be fulfilled. Meanwhile, when speaking popularly, they apply the term *Zion* to Utah.

mountains, was the most difficult:—"When the last mountain has been crossed, the road passes along the bottom of a deep ravine, whose scenery is of almost terrific gloom. At every turn the overhanging cliffs threaten to break down upon the river at their base. At the end of this defile, which is five miles in length, the emigrants come abruptly out of the dark pass into the lighted valley, on a terrace of its upper table land. A ravishing panoramic landscape opens out below them, blue and green, and gold and pearl; a great sea with hilly islands; a lake; and broad sheets of grassy plain; all set as in a silver-chased cup, within mountains whose peaks of perpetual snow are burnished by a dazzling sun."

The sympathy which we so freely give to the shout of the ten thousand Greeks, hailing the distant waters of the Euxine, we cannot refuse to the rapture of these Mormon pilgrims, when at last they beheld the promised land from the top of their transatlantic Pisgah. Nor is it wonderful that their superstition discovered in the aspect of their new inheritance an assurance of blessing; for the region which they saw below them bears, in its geographical features, a resemblance singularly striking to the Land of Canaan. The mountain lake of Galilee, the Jordan issuing from its waves, and the salt waters of the Dead Sea, where the river is absorbed and lost, have all their exact parallels in the territory of Utah. Here surely was the portion of Jacob, where the wanderings of Israel might find rest!

The arrival of these wayworn exiles, together with that of the disbanded volunteers from California, raised the number of the colony to nearly four thousand persons. The first thing needful was to provide that this multitude should not perish for lack of food. "Plough-

ing and planting," says Captain Stansbury, "continued throughout the whole winter, and until the July following; by which time a line of fence had been constructed enclosing upwards of six thousand acres, laid down in crops, besides a large tract of pasture land." But, notwithstanding all their industry, the colonists were on the brink of starvation during the first winter. There is very little game in the country, and they were reduced to the necessity of feeding on wild roots and on carrion; and even tore off the hides with which they had roofed their cabins, to boil them down into soup. "When we clambered the mountains," says one of them, "with the Indians, to get leeks, we were sometimes too feeble to pull them out of the ground."—(*XV.* 387.) This bitter season, however, saw the last of their sufferings; an abundant harvest relieved their wants; and since that time their agriculture has been so successful, that they have raised enough, not only for home consumption, but for the demand of the numerous emigrants who are constantly passing through their settlements to the gold-diggings of California. The engineers of the Central Government who surveyed their territory, state that, although the soil capable of cultivation bears a very small proportion to that which (for want of water) is doomed to sterility, yet the strip of arable land along the base of the mountains makes up, by its prodigious fertility, for its small extent—(*S.* 141.); and that it would support, with ease, a million of inhabitants.—(*G.* 18.) This question is of primary importance, because a country so distant from the sea and so far from all other civilized states, must depend entirely on its own resources. There must be a constant danger lest an unfavourable season should be followed by a famine. Against such a calamity, however, some pro-

vision is made by accumulating large quantities of grain in public storehouses, where the hierarchical government deposits the tithes which it receives in kind.

In physical prosperity, the new commonwealth, which is still (in 1854) only in the sixth year of its foundation, has advanced with a rapidity truly wonderful; especially when we consider the disadvantages under which it is placed, by the fact that every imported article has to be dragged by land carriage for a thousand miles over roadless prairies, bridgeless rivers, and snow-clad mountains. Thus reduced to self-dependence, we can imagine the straits to which the first emigrants were brought for want of those innumerable comforts of civilized life which cannot be extemporised, and need cumbersome machinery for their manufacture. We can understand why, even after some years of settlement, the new citizens complained that nineteen-twentieths of the most common articles of clothing and furniture were not to be procured among them at any price.—(XV. 395.) But before their steady energy, such difficulties have gradually vanished. When the colony had barely reached its fifth birthday, besides their agricultural triumphs already mentioned, they had completed an admirable system of irrigation, had built bridges over their principal rivers, and possessed iron-works and coal-mines, a factory of beet-sugar, a nail-work, and innumerable sawing-mills; and had even sacrificed to the Graces by “a manufactory of small-tooth combs!”—(XV. 418. and 437.) Regular mails were established with San Francisco on the Pacific, and New York on the Atlantic; public baths were erected, and copiously supplied by the boiling springs of the volcanic region, affording to the citizens that wholesome luxury, so justly appreciated by the ancients, and so barbarously

neglected by the moderns. They were even beginning to cultivate the arts and sciences, *more Americano*. They had founded a "University" in their capital, at which one of the apostles gives lectures on astronomy, wherein he overthrows the Newtonian theory.—(*G.* 82.) They had sculptured a monument to the memory of Washington. They had laid the foundation of a temple which is to surpass the architectural splendours of Nauvoo. They had reared a Mormon Sappho, who officiates as the laureate of King Brigham. Nay, they had even organized a dramatic association, which acts tragedies and comedies during the season.

Meanwhile, their population had increased by immigration from 4000 to 30,000, of whom 7000 were assembled in the city of Salt Lake, their capital. The rest were scattered over the country, to replenish the earth and to subdue it. This task they undertake, not with the desultory independence of isolated squatters, but with a centralized organization, the result of which, in giving efficiency to the work of energetic men, has astonished (says Captain Stansbury) even those by whom it has been effected. He adds,—“The mode which they adopt for the founding of a new town is highly characteristic. An expedition is first sent out to explore the country, with a view to the selection of the best site. An elder of the Church is then appointed to preside over the band designated to make the first improvement. This company is composed partly of volunteers, and partly of such as are selected by the Presidency, due regard being had to a proper intermixture of mechanical artisans, to render the expedition independent of all aid from without.”—(*S.* 142.)

But the effects of this system will be better understood by quoting the following letter of an emigrant,

who thus describes the foundation of one of the most important of these new settlements: —

“In company of upwards of an hundred waggons, I was sent on a mission with G. A. Smith, one of the Twelve, to Iron County, 270 miles south of Salt Lake, in the depth of winter, to form a settlement in the valley of Little Salt Lake (now Parowan), as a preparatory step to the manufacturing of iron. After some difficulty in getting through the snow, we arrived safe and sound in the valley. After looking out a location, we formed our waggons into two parallel lines, some seventy paces apart; we then took the boxes from the wheels, and planted them about a couple of paces from each other, so securing ourselves that we could not easily be taken advantage of by any unknown foe. This done, we next cut a road up the cañon [ravine], opening it to a distance of some eight miles, bridging the creek in some five or six places, making the timber and poles (of which there is an immense quantity) of easy access. We next built a large meeting-house, two stories high, of large pine-trees all neatly jointed together. We next built a square fort, with a commodious cattle-yard inside the enclosure. The houses built were some of hewn logs, and some of *adobies* (dried bricks), all neat and comfortable. We next enclosed a field five by three miles square, with a good ditch and pole fence. We dug canals and water ditches to the distance of thirty or forty miles. One canal to turn the water of another creek upon the field for irrigating purposes, was seven miles long. We built a saw-mill and grist-mill the same season. I have not time to tell you half the labours we performed in one season. Suffice it to say, that when the Governor came along in the spring, he pronounced

it the greatest work done in the mountains by the same amount of men."—(XV. 458.)

We must not be tempted to linger too long on this part of our subject, or we might illustrate it by many similar examples. Suffice it to say, that by such judicious enterprise a chain of agricultural posts has been formed, which already extends beyond the territory of Utah, and connects the Salt Lake with the Pacific. The chief of these settlements, San Bernardino, bids fair to be one of the most important cities in California. "The agricultural interest of the colonists of San Bernardino," says the "New York Herald," "is larger than that of the three adjoining counties united. Their manufacturing interest is rapidly increasing. They supply the southern country with timber, and for miles around they furnish flour from the fine mills which they have erected. They have purchased land for town sites in eligible situations on the sea-coast."—(XV. 61.) The object of the Mormons in this extended colonisation is to establish a good line of communication with the Pacific, by which they may bring up their immigrants more easily than across the immense tract which separates them from the Missouri. At first they hoped to include this line of coast in their own territory; but Congress refused their petition to that effect, and restricted them within limits which separate them from the sea; the above-mentioned maritime colonies being offshoots beyond their own jurisdiction.

But we are here assuming a knowledge of the political relations between the Mormon commonwealth and the United States, which we have not yet described. Soon after the exiles had taken possession of their new home, it passed from the dominion of Mexico to that of the United States by the treaty of 1848. Not long after,

a convention of the inhabitants petitioned Congress to admit them into the Confederation as a Sovereign State, under the title of the State of Deseret, a name taken from the Book of Mormon. This the Congress declined; but passed an Act, in 1850, erecting the Mormon district into a *Territory*, under the name of Utah. We should explain that, according to the American Constitution, the position of a *Territory* is very inferior to that of a *State*. The chief officers of a *Territory* are appointed not by the inhabitants, but by the President of the Union. The acts of the local legislature are null and void unless ratified by Congress. The property in the soil belongs to the Government of the United States. It will easily be understood how natural is the anxiety of the citizens of a *Territory* to emerge from this humiliating position into that of a sovereign commonwealth, which can elect its own magistrates, make its own laws, and adopt the constitution which it prefers. But this anxiety is doubly felt by the Mormons, because, so long as they remain subject to the Central Government of the Union, they naturally fear that the popular hatred which expelled them from Illinois and Missouri, may manifest itself in renewed persecution. Nor are causes of collision wanting. In the first place, the inhabitants of Utah have as yet no legal title to their land, for they have taken possession of it without purchase; and the ownership of the soil is in the United States. Yet the Mormons naturally protest against claims which would exact payment from them for that property which derives all its value from their successful enterprise. Again, the President of the Union has the right of appointing an "unbeliever" Governor of the *Territory*. Such an appointment would be considered a grave insult by the population; and they have announced very

clearly their intention to oppose it (should it ever take place) by passive resistance, which probably would soon pass into active violence. President Fillmore avoided this difficulty by nominating the Head of the Mormon Church as Governor of the Territory. But the appointment is only for four years, and may be cancelled at pleasure. Another cause of apprehended quarrel is the Mormon custom of polygamy. The Territorial Legislature has no power of legalising this practice, and consequently the majority of the children of all the great officers of the Church are illegitimate in the eye of the law. Probably some child of a first wife will seek on this ground to oust his half brothers from the paternal inheritance. The Courts of the United States must necessarily give judgment in favour of his claim. But it is certain that such a judgment could not be enforced in Utah without military force, which would be enthusiastically resisted by the population. This particular case, indeed, may not arise for some years. But the indignation excited against the Mormon polygamy is such, that a portion of the American press is already urging an armed intervention on the Government:—

“Not only (says the Philadelphia Register) should Utah be refused admission into the Union, so long as she maintains this abominable domestic institution; but Congress, under its power to make all needful regulations respecting the territory of the United States, should take measures to punish a crime which dishonours our nation.”—(XV. 358.)

Such are the clouds already visible on the horizon of Utah, which portend a coming storm. One collision has actually occurred, but has passed off without serious effects. It was caused by the unpopularity of two judges, appointed by the President of the United States.

No doubt it was very difficult to find among the Mormons any even moderately qualified for such an office. One provincial practitioner was however found, who, though not a resident in Utah, was brother of an Apostle; and he was nominated to a seat upon the bench. But the two other judges were "unbelievers;" and this circumstance of itself caused them to be received with coldness. One of them, also, gave great offence by a speech at a public meeting, in which he advised the Mormon ladies "*to become virtuous.*"—(XIV. 406.) The Governor, whose own harem was present, resented this as a gross insult, and an open quarrel ensued. Very free language was used as to the resolution of the people of Utah to resist any interference on the part of the Central Government. This language was declared treasonable by the two unbelieving Judges, and by the Secretary of the Territory, who all returned to Washington, and, in a report to Government, denounced the disloyalty of the Territory which they had deserted. In the sublime language of the "Deseret News"—"The Judicial Ermine doffed its desecrated wand to the ladies of Utah, satanlike rebuking sin; blackened the sacred pages of its country's history with the records of a mock court; *shook its shaggy mane* in disappointed wrath, and rushed *with rapid strides* over the mountains to its orient den."—(XIV. 524.)

President Fillmore, however, wisely forbore to take up the quarrel of his nominees, and made new appointments, which appear to be more acceptable to the Mormon population. Thus the danger has passed over for the time; but such symptoms show the precarious character of the existing peace.

Meanwhile, the Mormon leaders are taking every measure which is calculated to secure themselves against

a repetition of the exterminating process to which they have been so often subjected. They keep their militia in constant drill, and its discipline is said to be excellent. Every man capable of bearing arms is enrolled, and the apostles, bishops, and elders appear in military uniform as majors, colonels, or generals, at the head of their troops. They could already oppose a force of 8000 men to an invading enemy. And the standing army of the United States only amounts to 10,000, which must march for three months through a wilderness before they reached the defiles of the mountains, where they would find themselves opposed, under every disadvantage of ground, with all the fury of fanaticism. Indeed, Lieutenant Gunnison intimates that, in his opinion, the Mormons might already defy any force which could be sent against them.

The causes above mentioned fully account for the eagerness manifested by the heads of the Church in pressing upon the saints throughout the world the duty of emigrating to Utah. Their power of resisting hostile interference must of course be proportionate to their numerical strength. If they can double their present population, they may defend their mountain fastnesses against the world. Moreover, they will have the right, according to the practice of the Union, to demand admission as a State into the Federation, when their population amounts to 60,000. Hence the duty most emphatically urged upon all Mormon proselytes is immediate emigration. They must shake from their feet the dust of "Babylon," and hasten to "Zion." "Every saint," says a recent General Epistle, "who does not come *home*, will be afflicted by the devil."—(XIV. 20.) And again, "Zion is our home, the place which God has appointed for the refuge of his people. Every particle of our

means which we use in Babylon is a loss to ourselves.”—(*Ibid.* 210.) And the elders are exhorted “to thunder the word of the Almighty to the saints, to arise and come to Zion.”—(*Ibid.* 201.) Nor are their efforts confined to words of exhortation. They raise annually a considerable sum, under the name of the *Perpetual Emigration Fund*, to pay the outfit and passage of those who are willing to emigrate but unable to pay their own expenses. This fund amounted last year to 34,000 dollars.—(*XV.* 439.) Most of the emigrants, however, pay for themselves. In 1853, the number of saints who sailed from England was 2609 —(*Ibid.* 264); among whom 2312 were British subjects, and 297 Danes. Only 400 of these had their passage paid by the fund. The whole Mormon emigration from Europe has hitherto been considerably under 3000 annually. Even including the converts from the United States, only 3000 settlers arrived in Utah in 1851. These details, which we have collected from the official statistics published in the “Star,” will show how grossly the Mormon emigration has been exaggerated by the press. The American papers, with their usual grandiloquence, are constantly telling us that hundreds of thousands have arrived on their way to Utah; and these fables are copied on this side of the Atlantic, and go the round of Europe. In reality, during the fourteen years from 1837 to 1851, under 17,000 Mormons had emigrated from England. In future, however, while the Emigration Fund continues in operation, the rate will probably be not less than 3000 a year. We may therefore suppose that, including the proselytes from the Union, the census of Utah will be increased by 3500 annually. Besides this, we may allow, perhaps, 1000 per annum (considering the nature of the population) for the

average excess of births over deaths during the time that the population is rising from 30,000 to 60,000. On this hypothesis, it will have reached the required number by 1859.

This emigration, though very insignificant when compared with the exaggerated statements above mentioned, is surprisingly great when we consider the enormous difficulties by which it is impeded. In fact, if we except the capital of Thibet, there is perhaps no city in the world so difficult to reach as the metropolis of the Mormons. Emigrants from Europe must first undertake the long sea voyage to New Orleans; thence they must proceed by steamer up the Mississippi to St. Louis, a distance of 1300 miles. From St. Louis, a farther voyage of 800 miles brings them to the junction of the Missouri and the Platte. From thence they must proceed in waggons across the wilderness, a journey of three weary months, before they reach their final destination. The appearance of these trains of pilgrims must be highly curious and picturesque. Captain Stansbury thus describes one of them, which he passed:—"We met ninety-five waggons to-day, containing the advance of the Mormon emigration. Two large flocks of sheep were driven before the train; and geese and turkeys had been conveyed in coops the whole distance, without apparent damage. One old gander poked his head out of his box, and hissed most energetically at every passer-by, as if to show that his spirit was still unbroken, notwithstanding his long confinement. The waggons swarmed with women and children, and I estimated the train at a thousand head of cattle, a hundred head of sheep, and five hundred human souls."—(*S.* 223.)

"The waggon," he tells us elsewhere, "is literally the emigrant's home. In it he carries his all, and it

serves him as tent, kitchen, parlour, and bed-room ; and not unfrequently also as a boat, to ferry his load over an otherwise impassable stream."—(*S.* 26.)

The deluded proselytes, who, in the mere act of reaching the parched valleys of Deseret, expend an amount of capital and toil sufficient to establish them with every comfort in many happier colonies, are by no means drawn from the most ignorant portion of the community. More than two-thirds of their number consist of artisans and mechanics. Out of 352 emigrants who sailed from Liverpool in February, 1852, Mr. Mayhew ascertained that only 108 were unskilled labourers ; the remaining 244 consisted of farmers, miners, engine-makers, joiners, weavers, shoemakers, smiths, tailors, watchmakers, masons, butchers, bakers, potters, painters, shipwrights, iron-moulders, basket-makers, dyers, ropers, paper-makers, glass-cutters, nailers, saddlers, sawyers, and gunmakers.—(*M. Illust.* 245.) Thus the Mormon emigration is drawn mainly from a single rank of society ; and the result is, that the population of Utah presents an aspect singularly homogeneous, and has attained (without any socialism) more nearly to the socialist ideal of a dead level than any other community in the world. There are no poor, for the humblest labourer becomes on his arrival a peasant proprietor ; and, although some have already grown rich, yet none are exempt from the necessity of manual labour, except, indeed, the prophets and chief apostles of the Church. And even these seek to avert popular envy, by occasionally taking a turn at their old employments ; following the example of the President, who was bred a carpenter, and still sometimes does a job of joiner's work upon his mills.—(*G.* 141.) Such a state of society combines the absence of many evils and much misery, with the want of those humanizing influences which result

from the intermixture of men of leisure with men of labour.

But it is time to turn from the outward phenomena of Mormonism to its inward life; from its relations towards the external world, to its own internal system, theological, ethical, and ecclesiastical. And since those who join it, join it as a Religion, let us first examine the doctrines which it teaches, and which they accept.

We have already said that the original Theology of Mormonism was not distinguished by any marked peculiarities. And even still, those who preach it to the ignorant and simple disguise it under the mask of ordinary Protestantism, and affect to differ from rival sects rather in their pretensions than in their doctrines. The order lately given to the English elders was to abstain from perplexing their hearers with startling novelties, and only "to preach faith, repentance, baptism for the remission of sins, and *faith in Joseph Smith and Brigham Young.*" — (XIV. 226.) Even the more intelligent English converts, when asked wherein they differ from other sects, reply that the difference consists in their claim to possess miraculous gifts and a living prophet.

These *gifts*, which they profess to exercise, are the powers of healing the sick, speaking in tongues, and casting out devils. The former (which they found on the well-known passage in St. James) they put in practice on every occasion of illness. Not a month passes without some miraculous case of cure being published in their journals. In reading these narratives, we might almost think we had stumbled on an advertisement of Morison's pills. "The consequence," says Elder Spencer, "of changing this one ordinance to the medical nostrums of men, is the literal death of thousands."

The *Gift of Tongues* is of still easier execution, and forms a frequent incident in the public worship of the sect. Thus we read, in the official report of a recent Conference at Utah:—"Sister Bybee *spoke in tongues*. President Young declared it to be a *proper tongue*, and inquired *what the nations would do, if they were here*. He said, *if he were to give way to the brethren and sisters, the day of Pentecost would be in the shade in comparison to it.*"—(XIV. 356.)

This is sufficiently profane; but still more disgusting are the scenes which take place in the casting out of devils. Daniel Jones, now one of the three "Presidents of the Church in Wales,"* thus describes a case in which he officiated as exorciser:—"The spirits were all this time making the loudest noise; calling out, '*Old Captain, have you come to trouble us? d—d Old Captain, we will hold you a battle.*' Many other expressions used would be indecent to utter, and others useless, I suppose. Some spoke English, through one that knew no English of herself. Others spoke in tongues, praying for a reinforcement of their kindred spirits, and chiding some dreadfully by name, such as, *Borona, Menta, Philo*. They swore they would not depart, *unless old Brigham Young, from America, would come.*"—(Star, XI. 40, quoted in *Morm. Illust.*)

We should have been inclined to infer from such descriptions that the performers in these exhibitions must either be the most shameless of hypocrites, or the most crazy of fanatics. But we are silenced when we remember that two English clergymen have also very lately published their dialogues with devils; and have surpassed their Mormon rivals in absurdity, inasmuch

* M. Star, XV. 511.

as they have fixed the residence of Satan, not in the heart of a man, but in the legs of a table.*

The resemblance thus manifested between the teaching of some of our popular religionists, and that of the Mormons, is not confined to the point of diabolic agency. It results from a materialistic tendency observable in the two theological systems. Besides some other effects, this leads both alike to misconstrue the metaphors of Scripture by a literal interpretation, and to distort the biblical prophecies, by viewing them through a carnal medium. Thus, the Mormonite speculations on the Restoration of the Jews, and on the Millennium, are the same which may sometimes be heard in Puritanic pulpits. Both schools dwell with similar fondness on the battle of Armageddon, and give a description of the combatants equally minute. The Mormons teach that this contest will be between the Papists on one side and "the Church" on the other. The triumph of their own adherents is to usher in the Millennium. Even the date assigned to the Restoration of the Jews is the same in both systems. "It shall come to pass in the nineteenth century," says the official organ of Mormonism, "that the great trumpet shall be blown, and they [the Jews] shall come, who are ready to perish in the land of Assyria, and the outcast in the land of Egypt, and shall worship the Lord in the holy mountain at Jerusalem."—(XIV. 12.)

But this tendency to debase a spiritual truth into a material fiction is most strikingly developed in the Mormon doctrine of the Resurrection. It must be confessed, indeed, that some Christian writers have incautiously

* An account of these publications is given in a most interesting article in the "Quarterly" of October, 1853, on the subject of Table-turning.

spoken on this subject, in language contradicting that of St. Paul; and have seemed to teach that this corruptible body of flesh and blood will inherit eternal life.* The danger of such incautious statements is shown by the inferences deduced from them in the writings of the Mormonites. According to their teaching, not only will the body, but all the habits, occupations, and necessities of life, be the same in the future world as in the present. Thus, one of their chief pillars tells us, that—"The future residence of the saints is not an ideal thing. They will need houses for their persons and for their families, as much in their *resurrected* condition as in their present state. In this identical world, where they have been robbed of houses, and lands, and wife, and children, they shall have an hundred-fold."—(*Spencer*, 174.)

Another "Apostle" calculates the exact amount of landed property which may be expected by the "*resurrected* saints:"—"Suppose that, out of the population of the earth, one in a hundred should be entitled to an inheritance upon the new earth, how much land would each receive? We answer, they would receive over a hundred and fifty acres, which would be quite enough to raise manna, and to build some splendid mansions. It would be large enough to have our flower-gardens, and everything the agriculturist and the botanist want."—(*P. Pratt*, in *XIV.* 663.)

But not content with degrading the Scriptural conception of immortality by these sordid and grovelling imaginations, they venture directly to contradict the words of our Lord himself, by affirming that, in the Re-

* See the admirable arguments of Dr. Burton, late Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, against certain popular views of this subject.—(*Burton's Bampton Lectures*, Appendix.)

surrection, men both marry and are given in marriage. Thus the author above quoted tells us that—"Abraham and Sarah will continue to multiply, not only in this world, but in all worlds to come. . . . Will the resurrection return you a mere *female acquaintance*, that is *not* to be the wife of your bosom in eternity? No, God forbid! But it will restore you the wife of your bosom immortalised, who shall bear children from your own loins, in all worlds to come."—(*P. O.* 6.)

This they call the doctrine of *Celestial Marriage*, to which, in its connexion with their polygamy, we shall presently return.

A still more peculiar tenet of their creed is the necessity of *baptism for the dead*. This doctrine was broached by Smith at an early period, and is incorporated into the "Book of Doctrines and Covenants," the Mormonite New Testament.* Every Mormon is bound to submit to this rite for the benefit of his deceased relatives. Its institution seems to have had the same pecuniary object as that of the masses *pro defunctis*; although the fees demanded by the priesthood for its performance are not stated in the official documents. They tell us, however, that the dead "depend on their posterity, relatives, or friends, for this completing of the works necessary for their salvation"—(*XIV.* 232.); and that their genealogies will be revealed to the faithful by the prophets in the temple.—(*Seer*, i. 141.) Thus (says Joseph Smith, in his "*last sermon*") :—"Every man who has got a friend in the eternal world can save him, unless he has committed the unpardonable sin; so *you see how far you can be a saviour.*"

* See *D. C.*, sections 105, 106.

And to the same effect the Mormon hymnist sings :—

“I am Zionward bound, where a Seer is our head,
We'll there be baptized for our friends that are dead;
By obeying this law we may set them all free,
And *saviours we shall upon Mount Zion be.*”

(XV. 143.)

The Chancellor of the University of Deseret informs us that, “unless this is done for the dead *they cannot be redeemed.*”—(*Spencer*, 166.) And the same learned authority announces that—“Peter tells how the devout and honourable dead may be saved, who never heard the gospel on earth. Says he, [St. Peter!] ‘else why are they baptized for the dead?’”*

This Mormon sacrament is connected with another retrograde tenet, which restricts the due celebration of religious rites to one local sanctuary—“Verily I say unto you, after you have had sufficient time to build a house to me, wherein the ordinance of baptizing for the dead belongeth, and for which the same was instituted from before the foundation of the world your baptisms for the dead by those who are scattered abroad, are not acceptable unto me.”—(*D. C.* sec. 103.)

Hence the mysterious importance attached to the completion of the Nauvoo Temple. The corner-stone of a new and far larger edifice has lately been laid at Deseret, the form of which has been represented to Brigham Young in a miraculous vision. He refuses to reveal its plan beforehand; but declares that, magnifi-

* Mr. Spencer, who here cites the *1st Corinthians* as the work of St. Peter, was ordained as a Baptist minister in America, and says that he graduated at “Hamilton Theological College,” in 1829, and held “the first grade of honourable distinction.” He complains that his character has been much “vilified;” his spelling and grammar could scarcely be represented as viler than they are, by any of his “vilifiers.”

cent as it will be, it is only the faint image of that which will beautify reconquered Missouri. "The time will come when there will be a tower in the centre of temples we shall build, and on its top *groves and fish ponds*."—(XV. 488.) What would Mr. Ruskin say to this proposed new style of ecclesiastical architecture? Mr. Gunnison tells us (from information given him at Utah) that as soon as the present temple is finished, "*animal sacrifices* for the daily sins of the people" will be offered therein by the priesthood.—(G. 57.) This will complete the return of Mormonism to the "weak and beggarly elements," of that dispensation which was purposely adapted to a state of moral childhood, "wherein were offered both gifts and sacrifices that could not make him that did the service perfect, as pertaining to the conscience; which stood only in meats and drinks, and divers washings, and carnal ordinances, imposed until the time of reformation."

The same retrogressive tendency has led the Mormonites to adopt a system of anthropomorphism which has never been equalled by any other sect, though it was approached fifteen centuries ago by the Egyptian monks whom Theophilus anathematised. Allegorical images, under which the attributes of God were made intelligible to the rude Israelites by Moses, and even metaphorical figures, adopted by devotional poetry in a later age, are interpreted by Smith and his disciples in a sense as merely literal and material, as they would attach to the placards wherein their countrymen describe the person of a fugitive slave. The nature of these materialising dogmas cannot be rendered intelligible except by quotations, which, from their profanity, we would willingly omit. The following is an extract from

one of their popular catechisms, bearing on the subject:—

“Q. 28. What is God?—A. He is a *material* intelligent personage, possessing both body and parts.

“Q. 38. Doth He also possess passions?—A. Yes, He eats, He drinks, He loves, He hates.

“Q. 44. Can this being occupy two distinct places at once?—A. No.”*

To the same effect we read in the Mormon hymn-book (349.):—

“The God that others worship, is not the God for me;
He has no parts nor body, and cannot hear nor see.”

A local residence is assigned to this anthropomorphic Deity; he lives, we are told, “*in the planet Kolob.*”—(*Seer*, 70. and *XIV.* 531.) Moreover, as he possesses the body and passions of a man, so his relations to his creatures are purely human. Saint Hilary of Poitiers asserts that some Arians attacked orthodoxy by the following argument:—“*Deus pater non erat, quia neque ei filius; nam si filius, necesse est ut et fœmina sit.*”—(*Hil. adv. Const.*) The conclusion thus stated as an absurdity in the fourth century, the Mormons embrace as an axiom in the nineteenth:—“*In mundi primordiis, Deo erat fœmina,*” is an article of their creed.—(*P. O.* p. 1. and p. 15; also *Seer*, i. 38. and 103.) No existence is “created;” all beings are “begotten.” So the Prophet tells us in his “last sermon” (p. 62.):—“God never did have power to create the spirit of man at all. The very idea lessens man in my estimation. I know better.”

The superiority of the Mormon God over his creatures consists only in the greater power which He has gra-

* Latter Day Saints' Catechism, quoted in *Morm. Illust.* p. 43.

dually attained by growth in knowledge. He himself originated in "the union of two elementary particles of matter."—(*G.* 49.); and by a progressive development reached the human form. Thus we read that—"God, *of course*, was once a man, and from manhood, by continual progression, became God; and he has continued to increase from his manhood to the present time, and may continue to increase without limit. And man also may continue to increase in knowledge and power as fast as he pleases."

And again, "If man is a creature of eternal progression, the time must certainly arrive when he will know as much as God now knows."—(*XIV.* 386.)

This is in strict accordance with the following words of Joseph Smith:—"The weakest child of God which now exists upon the earth will possess more dominion, more property, more subjects, and more power and glory, than is possessed by Jesus Christ or by his Father; while at the same time They will have their dominion, kingdom, and subjects increased in proportion."—(*M. Star*, vi., quoted in *Morm. Illust.*)

An apostle carries this view into detail as follows:—"What will man do when this world is filled up? Why, he will *make more worlds*, and swarm out like bees from the old world. And when a farmer has cultivated his farm and raised numerous children, so that the space is beginning to be too strait for them, he will say, *My sons, yonder is plenty of matter, go and organise a world, and people it.*"—(*P. Pratt*, in *XIV.* 663., and *Seer*, i. 37.)

This doctrine of indefinite development naturally passes into Polytheism. Accordingly, the Mormon theology teaches that there are Gods innumerable, with different degrees of dignity and power. It was revealed

to Joseph Smith that the first verse of Genesis originally stood as follows:—"The *Head God* brought forth the *Gods*, with the heavens, and the earth."—(*XIV.* 455.) And the same prophet also tells us (*ibid.*) that a hundred and forty-four thousand of these gods are mentioned by St. John in the Apocalypse. Moreover, "each God is the God of the spirits of all flesh pertaining to the world which he forms."—(*Seer*, i. 38.) And it has been lately revealed by the President, that the God of our own planet is Adam (!), who (it seems) was only another form of the Archangel Michael (!). "When our father Adam came into the Garden of Eden, he brought Eve, *one of his wives*, with him. He helped to make and organise this world. He is Michael the Archangel, the *Ancient of Days*. He is our Father and our God, and *the only God with whom we have to do*."—(From *Discourses of the Presidency*, in *XV.* 769.)

It is curious to observe, from such examples, how easily the extremes of materialism and immaterialism may be made to meet. For here we have the rudest form of anthropomorphism connected with a theory of emanation, which might be identified with that of some Gnostic and Oriental idealists. But under its present intellectual guides, Mormonism is rapidly passing into that form of Atheism which is euphemistically termed Pantheism. Thus we read in the Washington organ of the Presidency, that the only thing which has existed from eternity is—"An infinite quantity of *self-moving intelligent matter*. Every particle of matter which now exists, existed in the infinite depths of past duration, and was then capable of self-motion."—(*Seer*, i. 129.) "There is no substance in the universe which feels and thinks now, but what has *eternally* possessed that capacity."—(*Ib.* 102.) Each individual of the *vegetable*

and animal kingdom contains a living spirit, possessed of intelligent capacities.”—(*Ib.* 34.) “Persons are only tabernacles, and *truth* is *the God* that dwells in them. When we speak of only one God, and state that he is eternal, &c., we have no reference to any particular person, but to *truth dwelling in a vast variety of substances*.”—(*Ib.* 25.)

The same authority informs us that every man is an aggregate of as many intelligent individuals as there are elementary particles of matter in his system.—(*Ib.* 103.) And so President Brigham, in a recent sermon, tells his hearers that the reward of the good will be a continual progress to a more perfect organization, and the punishment of the bad will be a “decomposition into the particles that compose the native elements.”—(*B. Young*, in *XV.* 835.)

It is evident that in these latter portions of the Mormon creed we may recognise the speculations of Oken, Fichte, Hegel, and others, filtered through such popularising media as Emerson, Carlyle, Parker, and the “Vestiges of Creation.” It would appear that the more startling of these innovations, which date from the last year of Smith’s life, are due to Orson Pratt, the intellectual guide of recent Mormonism, under whose influence Joseph seems to have fallen, after he had quarrelled with Sidney Rigdon.

But, it may be asked, how can this be the theology of a sect which professes to receive the Bible as the Word of God? The answer is twofold. First, the Mormon writers teach that the Christian Revelation, though authoritative when first given, is now superseded by their own. “The Epistles of the ancient Apostles, Paul, Peter, and John, we must say are dead letters, when compared to the Epistles that are written

to the saints in our day by the living priesthood."—(XIV. 328.) And the possession of a living source of inspiration enables them to modify, not only the doctrines of the ancient Scriptures, but even the revelations of their own prophets. Thus Polygamy is pronounced in the Book of Mormon to be "abominable before the Lord" (*Jac.* chap. ii. sec. 6.); yet it was afterwards authorized in a new revelation by Joseph himself, and is now declared to be the special blessing of the latter covenant. But, secondly, lest this view should not satisfy all scruples, it was revealed to Smith that our present Scriptures have been grievously altered and corrupted, and he was divinely commissioned to make a revised and corrected edition of them. We find from his statement in his autobiography (XIV. 422. 451, 452.), that he lived to complete this emended Bible. But he never ventured to print it, and it still remains in manuscript among the muniments of the Church. It is to be published as soon as the world is ripe to receive it. Meanwhile some specimens have been given, among which one of the most remarkable is the beginning of Genesis, which we have quoted above.*

The existence of this secret Bible is an example of the Mormon practice of *reserve*, which forms a connecting link between their theological and their ethical system. The doctrines which they teach among the initiated may differ to any extent from those proclaimed to the Gentiles. "If man receives all truths," says their organ—(XV. 507.), "he must receive them on a graduated scale. The *Latter Day Saints* act upon this

* Many extracts from this emended Bible have been lately published by Orson Pratt, in the *Seer*. The additions are so numerous as to double the Scriptural text.

simple, natural principle. Paul had *milk for babes*, and *things unlawful to utter*.” The most striking instance of this system of pious fraud is their persevering denial of the charge of polygamy. So boldly did they disavow the practice, that even the careful and accurate author of “Mormonism Illustrated” was deceived by their asseverations; and though he states the accusations against them fairly, yet decides that, at least as against Smith, they were unfounded. At length, however, it became necessary to drop the mask. As the population of Utah increased, the practices prevalent there became better known to the world, through multiplying channels of communication. It was useless to repudiate an ordinance which must be so prominent in the first letters of every new citizen of Salt Lake to his English friends. The Church therefore decided that the time was come for publishing to the world the revelation which sanctioned their seraglios. We have already cited that singular document, which Joseph circulated among the initiated in the year before his death. Since its publication, which took place in 1852, the Mormonite leaders have completely thrown off the veil, and have defended polygamy as impudently as they before denied it. Tracts, dialogues, and hymns are circulated in its behalf. And even the “*pluralistic*” marriage service has been published. The following is an extract from this novel rubric:—“The President [or his deputy*] calls upon the bridegroom and his [first] wife, and the bride to arise. The [first] wife stands on the left hand of her husband, while the bride stands on the wife’s left. The President then says to the [first] wife, *Are you willing to give this woman to your husband, to be his law-*

* See XV. 215.

*ful and wedded wife for time and for eternity? If you are, place her right hand within the right hand of your husband.** The right hands of the bridegroom and bride being thus joined, the [first] wife takes her husband by the left arm, as if in the attitude of walking. The president then asks the man, *Do you, brother M., take sister N. by the right hand, to receive her unto yourself, to be your lawful and wedded wife?* The bridegroom answers, *Yes.* The President then asks the bride, *Do you, sister N., take brother M. and give yourself unto him to be his lawful and wedded wife? &c.* The bride answers, *Yes.* The President then says *By the authority of the holy priesthood, I pronounce you legally and lawfully [sic] husband and wife for time and for all eternity. And I seal upon you the blessings of the holy resurrection, with power to come forth in the morning of the first resurrection And I seal upon you the blessings of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and say unto you, be fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth. . . .* The benediction follows; and the scribe then enters the marriage on the record."—(*Seer*, i. 31.)

It should be added, that the President possesses the Papal prerogative of annulling all marriages contracted under his sanction†; a prerogative which cannot fail to prove a source of wealth and power. As to marriages celebrated without his authority, they are *ipso facto*

* This would at first appear as if the wife possessed a veto. But the official organ informs us in the same article that if the wife refuses to consent to her husband's polygamy, "*then it is lawful for her husband, if permitted by revelation through the Prophet, to be married to others without her consent; and she will be condemned because she did not give them unto him; as Sarah gave Hagar unto Abraham, and as Rachael and Leah gave Bilhah and Zilpah unto Jacob.*"—(See also *XV.* 215.)

† See *G.* 70. and *S.* 136.

void, *in foro conscientie*. Consequently either man or woman is at liberty to desert an unbelieving spouse, and take another. An example of this occurred last year in a Welsh village, with which we are well acquainted. An old woman of sixty was converted by the Mormons, and persuaded to emigrate. She had a blind husband, seventy years of age, who entirely depended on her care. The neighbours cried shame on her for deserting her conjugal duties. The clergyman of the parish, and even her landlord the Squire, remonstrated in vain. She declared that "the Lord had called her to come to Zion," and that it was revealed to her that when she reached Deseret she should be restored to youth, or (as she expressed it) "she should get a new skin." And she unblushingly avowed her intention of being sealed to another husband, and bearing "a young family" in America. The end of the story is tragic. The deserted husband died of a broken heart a fortnight after his wife's departure; and the old woman herself expired before she reached New Orleans, leaving the surplus of her outfit in the hands of her seducers.

It may easily be imagined that the public announcement of these matrimonial innovations excited much opposition, not only among believers but also among the saints, and particularly among their wives. Even in Utah itself it seems that the customs of Constantinople are not popular with the fair sex. Lieutenant Gunnison tells us that "he placed the subject before a young lady in its practical light," and asked her, "if she would consent to become Mrs. Blank, No. 20. ? or if, though ranking as No. 1., she would be contented, when the first flush of beauty had departed, to have her husband call at her domicile, and introduce his last bride, No. 17. ?" The subject, says the Lieutenant, was

cut short by the reply, "No, Sir, I would die first." In England, as might be expected, the resistance has been more open and decided. One of the most amusing publications to which the controversy has given rise is a "Dialogue between Nelly and Abby," published in the weekly organ of Mormonism. Nelly is a rebellious saint, and opens the discussion by addressing her more submissive cousin as follows:—"Dear Cousin Abby, I have been very anxious to see you, ever since I heard of the *new revelation*. I know that nothing has ever come up yet in this Church that could stumble you. But I think now, when your John comes to get two or three more wives, you will feel as keenly as any of us." The believing Abby replies, by expressing her sorrow that her cousin's mind is "so fluttered" with the new revelation. For her own part, she has "never stumbled at any of the doctrines of the Church, because they all seem so pure." In condescension, however, for Nelly's weakness, she proceeds to explain fully the arguments which have led her to surrender the exclusive possession of "her John." These are resisted by Nelly for some time. She cannot see "what wisdom" there is in "being tied to her George with a lot of other women, who can flatter and simper, and make him believe anything they please." But at last she also is convinced, and exclaims, "I am sorry I ever burnt that revelation! I would not have done it for the world if I had known as much as I do now." She cannot help, however, adding a proviso, "Well, if George does take any other, I should like him to take my sister Anne, for her temper is so obliging and mild."*

The arguments by which the Mormon writers justify

* See M. Star, XV., Nos. 15, 16.

their adoption of these Oriental usages are principally drawn from the Old Testament. The pamphlet on "Plurality of Wives," at the head of our Article, informs us, that the Latter Day Saints have restored "the family order which God established with Abraham and the Patriarchs."—(*P. O. 1.*) So we have just seen that in their new marriage service polygamy is designated as "the blessing of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob." And the Mormon psalmist sings to the same tune —

"I am Zionward bound, where the blessings untold,
Which Jehovah conferr'd on his servants of old,
And at which pious Christendom feels so annoy'd,
In this last dispensation again are enjoy'd."

(*XV. 143.*)

And so we are warned by Elder Spencer, that—
"When a man undervalues this promise he not only shows himself to be destitute of saving faith, but he is very liable to become a *scoffer and mocker of the last days*, speaking evil of such dignities as *Abraham and Brigham.*"—(*P. O. 12.*)

But it would be well if the apologists of polygamy confined themselves to the patriarchal dispensation. For some excuse might then be made for their mistake, considering the vague notions concerning the authority of the Old Testament which prevail among our popular religionists, and remembering that even in our pulpits we too often hear Isaac and Jacob cited as perfect exemplars of Christian life. But when they venture to quote the New Testament in support of their practices, we see at once the impudent dishonesty of the men. The devil has often wrested Scripture to his purpose, but never before with such preposterous perversion and audacious profaneness as that displayed by Joseph

Smith and his disciples. One feels indignant, not only at their hypocrisy, but at their folly, in expecting to persuade any one to acquiesce in such palpable distortion of plain words. Thus from the promise that, whatsoever a man shall leave for the Gospel's sake, *he shall receive an hundredfold* (Mark, x. 29.), the Chancellor of the University of Deseret deduces the following question and answer:—"Q. What reward have men who have faith to forsake their rebellious and unbelieving wives in order to obey the commandments of God?

"A. AN HUNDRED FOLD OF WIVES in this world, and eternal life in the next."—(*P. O.* 16. ; see also *Seer*, 61.)

In the same treatise a carnal interpretation is given to the metaphor which designates the Church as "the Bride." But even these monstrous falsifications of Scripture are surpassed by the arguments which Mr. Hyde (the present chairman of the Apostolic College) extracts from the Gospel narrative itself.* Yet, although the omission of these renders our picture of Mormonism incomplete, we really dare not quote blasphemies so revolting; especially when they are combined with absurdity at which the reader, even while he shuddered, must be provoked to smile.

Such profane distortion of the sacred writings is the less excusable in the Mormonite divines, because they have the power of fabricating new Scripture whenever they please. This power, indeed, they have freely exercised in defence of their harems. It has been revealed, that the measure of a man's "wealth, power, and dominion" in the world to come will depend upon the number of his wives, all of whom will continue to

* See Orson Hyde's Letter, published in the [*Mormon*] *Guardian*, and quoted by Mr. Gunnison, p. 68. The same blasphemies are repeated by Orson Pratt, in *Seer*, 159. 169.

belong to him after the resurrection, if they have been *sealed* to him by the President. Hence the term *celestial marriage*, which they apply to this connexion. Moreover, the first wife, if submissive, will rank as Queen over all the other concubines. In the tract above quoted Abby explains this to Nelly as follows:—
“I appreciate a kind, intelligent husband, that is ordained and anointed like unto Abraham, to be king over innumerable myriads of the human family, so highly, that I shall not make myself a widow and servant through all eternity, by opposing what God has clearly revealed by all his prophets since the world began. . . . The great question is this. Will we unite with the *plurality order* of ancient patriarchs, or will we consent to be doomed to eternal celibacy? This is the true division of the question. One or the other we must choose. We cannot be married to our husbands for eternity without subscribing to the law that admits a plurality of wives. . . . If your George and you should be alone, by the side of such a king as Abraham or Solomon, with all his queens, and their numerous servants and waiting maids in courtly livery, would he not look like a mere rushlight by the side of such suns? . . . Besides, a queen to him that has his hundreds of wives in eternity, with children as numberless as the stars of heaven, would receive intelligence, honour, and dominion, in some measure proportioned to the exaltation of her husband; while your George, *not having much to look after besides you*, could not demand the same measure of wealth, honour, and dominion; because he could use upon you and your little family but a small pittance of what pertains to one moving in a wider and more exalted sphere.”

“*Nelly*. But do you mean to say, Abby, that if I

am not married according to God's order before the resurrection, that I shall always have to remain single, and also be your servant, or the servant of some one that is married according to that order?"

"*Abby.* That is what God has most clearly revealed in many scriptures."

This contingent Queenship, however, will be subject to the husband's appointment, and the reversionary interest therein often creates rivalry in the establishment. Mr. Gunnison was informed at Salt Lake that Brigham Young had a wife who died before she became a Mormon, but has since been saved by vicarious baptism, and that the first of his present wives frequently teases her husband by inquiring whether she herself or her predecessor will be his Queen in the world to come.—(*G. 77.*)

Besides the arguments above mentioned in favour of polygamy, derived from Revelation, others are deduced from reason and expediency. The chief of these is, that the Oriental system will remedy the immorality in which Europe is now sunk. So corrupt is society at present, especially in England, that not only are there "a hundred thousand prostitutes in London," but also that the "haunts of vice" are constantly frequented by those who are specially ordained to be the guardians of public morality, "by parsons, and *even bishops in disguise.*"—(*XV. 244.*) This foul and wide-spread pollution would be cured by polygamy, for under that institution no female would be driven to vice by the want of a legitimate protector. "Don't you think," says Nelly, in the tract before cited, "that the hundred thousand unfortunate females in London would much rather have such husbands [*i. e.* husbands shared with several

other wives] than lead out their present miserable short lives as they do?"

Again it is urged that the "Patriarchal Order" will soon be rendered necessary by an excess of females over males, which is to result from the destructive wars now impending over the world. A passage in Isaiah is interpreted as prophesying that this excess will be in the proportion of seven to one.

Farther, the system of plurality is desirable as rewarding good men and punishing bad men, for the good will be selected as husbands by many wives, while the bad will be accepted by none. "How many virtuous females," says Chancellor Spencer, "would prefer to *unite* their destinies to one and the same honourable and virtuous man, rather than to *separate* their destinies each to an inferior vicious man? Shall such virtuous and innocent females be denied the right to choose the objects of their love?"—(*P. O.* 2.)

Moreover, far from causing discord among women, this patriarchal institution "is calculated to dispel jealousy."

"For instance, in this country three young women all love the same young man. Being rivals, it is natural that they should hate each other in exact proportion as they love the young man; because they know that the law will not allow him to be married to them all. If polygamy were allowed, this jealousy would not exist, because a woman would know that she could be married to any man she loved."—(*XV.* 660.)

Another argument much insisted on is the removal of an impediment which now hinders the conversion of polygamous heathen. This is illustrated by the following story, which we find constantly repeated in the

“Mormon Apologies:”—“A Dakotah Indian offered himself for baptism to some Presbyterian missionaries. On being questioned he said, that he had several wives. He was told that he could not be baptized while he had more wives than one. The heathen went away, and returned in a few months renewing his request. He was again questioned how many wives he had. *One only*, said he. ‘*What had he done with all the others?*’ *I have eaten them*, was the reply.”—(XV. 147.)

From the tone taken by the Mormon advocates of polygamy, it would seem as if the practice must prevail among them extensively. For, otherwise, we cannot understand why they should represent it to the poor in their popular tracts as a state so desirable, that a man with only one wife must be precluded from the higher degrees of happiness in the life to come. Yet, on the other hand, it is hard to conceive how any but the wealthier members of the community can indulge in so expensive a luxury. However this may be, it is certain from the evidence of such credible witnesses as Captain Stansbury and Lieutenant Gunnison, that the great officers of the Church maintain seraglios on a scale truly Oriental. The latter informs us (p. 120.) that the three members of the Presidency had, when he was in Utah, no less than eighty-two wives between them, and that one of the three “was called an old bachelor, because he had only a baker’s dozen.” And Captain Stansbury describes the “*numerous family*” of the President as mingling freely in the balls, parties, and other social amusements of the place.

The delightful effects of this practice on the domestic felicity of Utah are thus described by one of the organs of Mormonism:—“Each wife knows that the other

wives are as much entitled to the attention of the husband as she herself; she knows that such attentions are not criminal, therefore she does not lose confidence in him; though she may consider him partial, in some respects, yet she has the consolation to know that his attentions towards them are strictly virtuous.”—(*Seer*, i. 125.) And again —

“There is no particular rule as regards the residence of *the different branches of a family*. It is very frequently the case that they all reside in the same dwelling, and take hold unitedly, with the greatest cheerfulness, of the different branches of household or domestic business; eating at the same table, and kindly looking after each other's welfare, while the greatest peace and harmony prevail year after year. Their children play and associate together with the greatest affection as brothers and sisters, *while each mother apparently manifests as much kindness and tender regard for the children of the others as for her own*.”—(*Seer*, i. 42.)*

This last result of the system is so unquestionably miraculous, that it is almost sufficient of itself to convert an unbelieving world. Notwithstanding such evidence, however, the Gentile Gunnison presumes to speak unfavourably of the effects of this sacred ordinance. He thinks that it leads to the depression of women, and tells us that they are disrespectfully treated by the “saints,” as an inferior order of beings:—“Gentile gallantry” (says he) “is declared by the Mormons to have reversed the natural position of the sexes. To give the post of honour or of comfort to the lady is absurd. If there is but one seat they say it of right

* See Appendix, Note D.

belongs to the gentleman, and it is the duty and place of a man to lead the way, and let his fair partner enter the room behind him."—(G. 157.)

He also speaks of polygamy as "the great cause of disruption in families," and affirms that the children are "the most lawless and profane of all that have come under his observation."

We have already spoken of the legal and political consequences which may probably arise from this custom. We may add, that it can scarcely fail to contain the seeds of internal discontent. For the industrious inhabitants of Utah must find out before long that by the toil of their own sinews they are maintaining the sumptuous harems of their chiefs. Nor is it possible that in a new colony the female population can be sufficiently abundant to allow this Eastern luxury to the powerful, without compelling many of the poor to remain unwedded. Already, indeed, one of the toasts at a recent public dinner in Utah — "*Wanted immediately more ladies!*" — seems to indicate dissatisfaction.

We cannot leave this part of our subject without mentioning that a graver charge than that of polygamy has been brought against the Mormon leaders. The depositions published by their opponents at Nauvoo accused them, not of openly adding to their domestic establishment, but of secretly corrupting female virtue, under the pretext of *spiritual marriage*. An affidavit made by one Martha Brotherton details very circumstantially an attempt made by Brigham Young to seduce her under this pretence. We are inclined to believe her statement, because she explicitly refers to Joseph's "new revelation," which was at that time carefully concealed from all but the initiated. Nor are there wanting intimations in the documents already published

by the Church that something more is behind. Thus the first revelation on polygamy concludes with the following promise: "As pertaining unto this law, verily I say unto you, *I will reveal more unto you hereafter.*" —(XV. 8.) And so we read in the "Star" (XV. 91.), "Ours is a *progressive* system, and we must progress with it, or be left behind. If you are found obedient to counsel, nothing will stumble you, neither *spiritual wifeism*, nor any thing else."

Nevertheless, if such secret privileges are permitted to the Mormon chiefs, they must be used with extreme caution. Even the sacred character of an Apostle would hardly save him from the vengeance of an injured husband, accustomed to the summary proceedings of Lynchian jurisprudence. Last year a Mormon of the name of Egan was brought to trial for murdering the seducer of his wife, and (though admitting the fact) was acquitted by a Utah jury. Nor, whatever may be the character of the leaders, can we hesitate to believe the almost unanimous testimony of travellers to the general morality of the population. Indeed, the laborious and successful industry which we have described could not characterize a debauched and licentious people.

We have dwelt at some length on the Mormon polygamy, not only on account of its intrinsic importance, but because its disclosure is so recent that previous writers have been unable to give accurate information on the subject. The ethical teaching of the sect is not distinguished by any other very remarkable peculiarity. The chief duty impressed upon the saints is the punctual payment of their tithes. We can scarcely open a page of their official publications without finding strenuous exhortation to the fulfilment of that indispensable

obligation. Next to this cardinal virtue, they seem to rate the merit of abstinence from fermented liquors and tobacco. This, however, is not absolutely insisted on, but only urged as a "precept of wisdom." It was enforced by Joseph, whose practice did not square with his precepts, as he was often drunk himself. But his sagacity perceived that the money squandered by his disciples on gin and cigars must be diverted from the treasury of the Church.

The virtue of patriotism is also a frequent theme of Mormon eulogy. By publicly enjoining it, they endeavour to refute the charges of treason so often brought against them by their enemies. Hence the anniversary of the 4th of July (the birthday of American independence) is celebrated with special jubilation in the city of Salt Lake, and the tree of liberty is duly refreshed with torrents of rhetoric, and also with more material libations. The official list of toasts given at one of the last of these festivities, shows that the citizens cling with equal attachment to the "domestic institutions" of Virginia and of Deseret; for the 12th toast is *Slavery*, and the 13th *Polygamy*.* The 15th, which, we suppose, is meant to point the moral of the other two, is "THE GREAT NATIONAL MOTTO,—‘*Do unto others as you would have others do unto you.*’"

Such festive meetings, which are very frequent, generally conclude with dancing, an exercise the practice of which must be also included in the ethical system of Mormonism. In saltatorial, as in military

* The 13th toast is printed as follows: "Poly-Ticks and Poly-Gamy;" a piece of wit which seems to have been highly appreciated. — (XIV. 566.) With regard to slavery, it should be observed that according to Joseph's revelations, the negroes are of an inferior race, and that no person of colour can be admitted into the Church.—(XIV. 472.)

movements, the priesthood occupy the foremost place. The president leads off, and bishops, patriarchs, and elders are to be seen figuring enthusiastically, "not," says the enthusiastic Colonel Kane, "in your minuets or other mortuary processions of Gentles, but in jigs and reels." When the temple is completed, these public dances are to form a part of the regular worship.

But the most remarkable feature in the practical working of Mormonism, considered as a Religion, is the almost entire absence of the *devotional* element. In the addresses of its teachers we find no exhortation to the duties of private prayer, of self-examination, or of penitence. In their writings we can trace no aspirations after communion with God, after spirituality of mind, after purification of the affections. All is of the earth, earthy. One of the ablest writers against Christianity has lately stated it as his chief objection to the Christian System, that it discourages the love of earthly things, and requires its votaries to set their affections on things above. He proposes to amend the precept of Saint John—"Love not the world, and the things that are in the world; the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life"—by simply leaving out the word *not*. Mormonism seems exactly to realise the ideal of this distinguished controversialist; and, as he does not mention it as one of the phases through which his faith has hitherto passed, we cannot but hope that he may still find among the *Latter Day Saints* that resting-place which he tells us that he vainly sought among the *Craig-and-Mullerites*.

This mundane character of Mormonism faithfully perpetuates the type impressed on it by its founder. Joseph Smith was a "jolly fellow," says one of his admirers, and not in the least *methodistical*. "His was a

laughter-loving, cheerful religion," says Mr. Gunnison. The General Epistles of the "Church" exemplify the same peculiarity. The Gospel which they proclaim consists of directions for emigration, instructions for the setting up of machinery, the management of iron-works, the manufacture of nails, the spinning of cotton-yarn, and the breeding of stock. The same undevo-tional aspect is exhibited by their public worship, at least in Utah; for in Europe reserve is used, and their practice assimilated to that of other sects. The service begins with instrumental music, the band performing "anthems, marches, and *waltzes*;" "which," says Mr. Gunnison, eulogistically, "drives away all sombre feelings." An extempore prayer follows, which invokes blessings on the president, officers, and members of the Church, and curses upon their enemies. Then comes a discussion, in which any one may speak. This part of the service is usually a conversation on local business, like that in an English vestry meeting. The sermon follows; but even that is not confined to religious exhortation, but embraces such questions as the discipline of the Legion, the Californian gold-digging, and the politics of the Territory. The most curious specimen of these discourses which we have discovered is the following, which we take from the official report:—"Elder George Smith was called upon to preach an iron sermon. He rose and took into the stand [pulpit] one of the fire-irons [the first productions of the Utah foundries.] Holding the same over his head, he cried out '*Stereotype edition*,' and descended amid the cheers of the saints. The choir then sung the doxology, and the benediction was pronounced by Lorenzo Snow."—(XV. 492.) This kind of religious service would satisfy the aspirations of Mr. Carlyle himself, whose

rather lengthy sermons on the text *laborare est orare* are thus condensed into pantomime by "Elder George Smith."

The Mormon collection of hymns, which we have mentioned at the head of this Article, might lead to an impression of the religion different from that which we have here given. But when we come to examine it, we find, in the first place, that it is published for the English congregations; and, secondly, that nine-tenths of the hymns (including all which possess the slightest merit, devotional or poetical) are stolen from the collections in use among English Protestants, especially from the Wesleyan hymn-book. The few original compositions which Mormonism has produced are execrable, both in taste and feeling. In addition to the samples which we have already given, we may add the following:—

JOSEPH'S APOTHEOSIS.

(AIR.—" *The sea ! The sea ! The open sea !* ")

" He's free ! He's free ! The Prophet's free ! "

He is where he will ever be.

His home's in the sky ; he dwells with *the Gods* ;

Far from the furious rage of mobs.

He died, he died, for those he loved.

He reigns, he reigns, in the realms above."

(*Hymns*, 338.)

THE SAME SUBJECT.

" Hail to the Prophet ascended to heaven,

Traitors and tyrants now fight him in vain ;

Mingling *with Gods* he can plan for his brethren ;

Death cannot conquer the hero again.

“Praise to his memory! he died as a martyr!
 Honoured and blest be his ever great name!
 Long shall his blood, which was shed by assassins,
 Stain Illinois, while the earth lauds his fame.

“Sacrifice brings forth the blessings of heaven,
 Earth must atone for the blood of that man;
 Wake up the world for the conflict of justice,
 Millions shall know brother Joseph again.”
(Ibid. 325.)

THE DEEDS OF JOSEPH.

“Who took the plates the angel showed?
 And brought them from their dark abode?
 And made them plain by power of God?
 The prophet Joseph Smith.

“Who did receive the power to raise
 The Church of Christ in latter days?
 And call on men to mend their ways?
 The prophet Joseph Smith.

“Who bore the scorn, the rage, the ire,
 Of those who preach for filthy hire?
 Was called by them impostor, liar?
 The prophet Joseph Smith.
(XIV. 304.)

We must not forget that the whole fabric which we have hitherto described, both doctrinal, ethical, and liturgical, might be changed at once by a new revelation uttered by the president of the Church. The only limitation to his power is the necessity of securing the assent of his followers, which, though not theoretically essential, is practically indispensable. Loss of popularity must of necessity entail dethronement. We have already observed the skill with which the Mormon hierarchy is

constructed, so as to enlist in its service all the available talent of the sect, and thus to guard as far as possible against the danger of rebellion. We need not recapitulate the long list of names by which its various grades are designated. The quaintness of some of these gives, at first sight, an air of ridicule to the whole; but, however ludicrous the nomenclature, the organization itself is too skilful to be ridiculous. The supreme authority is nominally in "*the Presidency*," which consists of the President and his two Councillors. But, in reality, the First President is sole monarch, for his assessors, though they may remonstrate, have no power of resisting his decrees. The President himself, according to Smith's statement (XV. 13.) is *appointed* by revelation," and "*acknowledged* by the voice of the Church." But Brigham Young has modified this declaration, by announcing that, although constituted a *Prophet* by revelation, he holds the office of *President* by the choice of the people.—(XV. 488). And, in fact, a vote *that he be sustained in his office* is passed at every General Conference. It would seem, therefore, to be theoretically possible that the divinely-appointed "Seer, Prophet, and Revelator," might be deposed by the Church. But the exact limits which define the powers of President and Conference are left as indeterminate as in the similar case of Pope and General Council. Another change effected under the administration of Young has been, the assumption by the Apostolic College of a paramount authority unknown to the original constitution. Many of the apostles, however, are generally absent from head-quarters on missionary journeys, and the acting senate is a council of twelve, selected from among the high-priests. The *Bishops* are financial officers, employed in the collection of the tithe. The

Patriarchs are charged with the special function of pronouncing benedictions on individuals. Joseph Smith, senior, the Prophet's father, was formerly Patriarch, and, even in the early days of Mormon poverty, received for this service ten dollars a week (more than 100*l.* a year), and "his expenses found."—(XV. 308.) The present chief Patriarch (John Smith, an uncle of Joseph's) no doubt gets better pay, and we see that the unhappy old man has lately published a solemn affirmation of the truth of his nephew's miracles.—(XIV. 97.)

In subordination to these higher officers is a great variety of minor functionaries, each of whom, from the lowest to the highest, has a direct interest in strengthening the hierarchical government, in which he holds a place, and by which he may mount, as his present superiors have mounted, from poverty to wealth, and from contempt to power. Thus all work zealously together in maintaining ecclesiastical discipline, and (to use the words of one of them) enforce upon the people "*the importance of being governed by the Priesthood in all things.*"—(XIV. 294.)

But whatever may be the merits of such an organization, its continued success must depend in great measure on the character of its Head. The Jesuits would never have reconquered Southern Europe for the Pope, had not the first three or four generals of the Order been men of eminent ability. Mormonism would probably have perished after the death of Smith, had the Apostles shown less sagacity in their selection of their present chief. Brigham Young was the son of a farmer in the Eastern States (XV. 642.), and was brought up to the trade of a carpenter. He joined the sect early, and rose to eminence by his serviceable obedience. He is a man of action,

not of speculation; distinguished for coarse strength and toughness, physical and moral; and these qualities have been needed for the rough work he has had to do. His first important charge was the mission to England in 1837, when he founded the British Churches. Shortly before that epoch, he was solemnly set apart "to go forth from land to land, and from sea to sea." And we read that "the blessing of Brigham Young was that he should be *strong in body*, that he might go forth and gather the elect."—(Smith's *Autob.* XV. 206.) We have related how, after the death of Smith, he supplanted Rigdon, and rose from the chairmanship of the Apostles to the Presidency, and how wisely he led his followers through the wilderness, and planted them in the land of promise. By his appointment as Governor of the Territory of Utah, his character received the stamp of public approbation from the supreme Government of the United States; whence he reaped also the solid advantage of a salary of 2500 dollars. Besides this official income, he has the uncontrolled management of the ecclesiastical revenues, including the tithing of his subjects, foreign and domestic. We learn, therefore, without surprise, that he has acquired considerable property, and that he is able not only to maintain a suitable establishment and "princely carriages" (*G.* 63.), but also to support a family of forty wives and about a hundred children. His prosperity has excited some jealousy among his people; and we find him, in a recent speech, remonstrating with those who "complain of *me* living upon tithing."—(XV. 161.) But hitherto he has succeeded in suppressing such murmurs by his frank and popular bearing, and by the proofs he has given of indefatigable zeal for the public interest. The official documents which he publishes from time to time, and especially his Messages to the

local Legislature, show the illiterate sagacity of the *Rusticus abnormis sapiens*, and exhibit a curious mixture of business-like statement with Yankee bombast. As a specimen of the latter, we may take the following description of the Abolitionist party, from a recent message:—"The fanatical bigot, with the spirit of northern supremacy, seeks to enwrap in sacrilegious flame the altar of his country's liberties, offering an unholy sacrifice, which, arising in encircling wreaths of dark and turbid columns, emitting in fitful glare the burning lava, betokens erewhile her consummation."—(XV. 422.)

When opposed, the President is apt to become overbearing and scurrilous. Thus, in his controversy with Judge Brocchus, he tells his correspondent that he is "either profoundly ignorant or wilfully wicked—one of the two." "You manifest a choice," he adds, "to leave an incensed public in incense [*sic*] still." And farther—"When the spirit of persecution manifests itself in the flippancy of rhetoric for female insult and desecration, it is time that I forbear to hold my peace, lest the thundering anathemas of nations born and unborn, should rest upon my head, when the marrow of my bones shall be illy [*sic*] prepared to sustain the threatened blow."—(XIV. 402.) Yet the President can write better than this, when he restricts himself to less ambitious prose. His correspondence with Dr. Adams, for example (*Ibid.* 213.), is a model of shrewd sense, not unmixed with a touch of humour, and shows that he is well able to detect an impostor. This, indeed, is not surprising, on the principle of that ancient rule which prescribes the agents most serviceable in thieft-catching.

Next to the President in importance, though not in official rank, stands the Apostle Orson Pratt. As

Young in action, so Pratt in speculation, is the leader of the sect. Like so many intelligent and half-educated men, he has greedily received the teaching of the modern Pantheistic philosophy from its popular interpreters, American and English. From such sources he has compounded that strange jumble of incongruous dogmas which we have before attempted to describe. Thus he probably hopes to enlist some recruits from the party of "Young America," who may be induced to swallow the absurdities of Mormonism in a non-natural sense, washed down with a lubricating dose of mysticism. He has himself substantial reasons for his allegiance to the cause. He holds the pleasantest appointment which his Church can bestow upon an intelligent man — being its resident agent at Washington. His official duty (according to the tenor of his diploma) is "to write and publish periodicals and books illustrative of the principles and doctrines of the Church;" and it is his prerogative "to receive and collect tithing of the saints throughout all his field of labour."—(XV. 42.)

His elder brother, Parley Pratt, though individually less prominent than Orson, represents an element of Mormonism far more essential to its success. He may be considered as chief of the Mormon missionaries. The zeal and activity of these emissaries, though it has been much exaggerated, is still remarkable. The Governors of the sect are good judges of character; and it is their plan to select the restless and enterprising spirits, who, perhaps, may threaten disturbance at home, and to utilize their fanaticism, while they flatter their vanity, by sending them as representatives of the Church to distant fields of labour. Their method of establishing a mission in a foreign country is as follows. Amongst their converts, taken at random from the mixed popula-

tion of the Union, there are natives to be found of every nation in Europe. They select a native of the country which they wish to attack, and join him as interpreter to the other emissaries whom they are about to despatch to the land of his birth. On arriving at their destination, the missionaries are supported by the funds of the Church, till they can maintain themselves out of the offerings of their proselytes. Meanwhile, they employ themselves in learning the language, and circulating tracts in defence of their creed; and then sit down to the weary task of translating the "Book of Mormon."

By this process, they have formed churches in Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Iceland, France, Germany, Italy, Switzerland, Malta, Gibraltar, Hindostan, Australia, and the Sandwich Islands; and besides these, they have recently sent missionaries to Siam, Ceylon, China, the West Indies, Guiana, and Chili. The "Book of Mormon" has been published in French, German, Italian, Danish, Polynesian, and Welsh. Besides various tracts which are circulated by these missionaries, they have established regular periodicals in French, Welsh, and Danish.* We should observe, however, that of the missions above enumerated, the first and last (those to Denmark and the Sandwich Islands) have alone been really successful. In Denmark, at the beginning of 1853, they possessed 1400 baptized converts, and had also despatched 297 more to Utah. In the Sandwich Islands they had baptized 589, before their mission had been established twelve months. These proselytes were all previously Christians, converted from heathenism by

* Namely, "Le Reflecteur," published monthly, at Lausanne; the "Udgorn Seion," weekly, at Merthyr; and the "Skandnaviens Sterne," twice a month, at Copenhagen.

American missionaries. The other foreign missions have as yet only succeeded in making a very small number of proselytes. The accounts published by their founders are often exceedingly absurd. Among the most grotesque is the record of the Italian mission, by the apostle, Lorenzo Snow. He begins by informing us that he sailed from Southampton to a place called "*Avre de grace.*" In due time he reached the valleys of the Waldenses, "who have received many privileges from the Sardinian Government." With him were three other Mormons—the first, an Americo-Sicilian; the second an Englishman; and the third, a Scotchman. The four met on a hill in Piedmont, which they named *Mount Brigham*. They record their proceedings in the style of a Yankee public meeting, as follows:—

"*Moved by Elder Snow*—That the Church of Latter Day Saints be now organized in Italy. *Seconded and carried.*

"*Moved by Elder Stenhouse*—That Elder Snow, of the quorum of the twelve apostles, be sustained President of the Church in Italy. *Seconded and carried.*

"*Moved by Elder Snow*—That Elder Stenhouse be Secretary of the Church in Italy. *Seconded and carried.*"

Thus was formed the "Church of Italy," which contained at the time of its formation not a single Italian member. Its founders boast, however, that they have contrived to deceive the Roman Catholic authorities, by publishing a Tract under the title of "*The Voice of Joseph,*" with a woodcut of a Nun for frontispiece, and a vignette of the Cross upon the title-page. Under these false colours, they hope soon to win their way.

But Great Britain is the true theatre of Mormon triumph. An official census is published half-yearly,

whence we learn that in July, 1853, the British Saints amounted to 30,690, and contained 40 "*Seventies*," 10 *High Priests*, 2578 *Elders*, 1854 *Priests*, 1416 *Teachers*, and 834 *Deacons*.* Thus one-fifth of the whole number are invested with some official function. We may add, that 25,000 copies of the "*Millennial Star*," the Mormon organ, are sold weekly.

To explain the causes of this success, gained by the preachers of a superstition so preposterous, is a most important part of our task. Yet it needs no long investigation, for these causes are not difficult to detect. In the first place, it may be laid down as an axiom that every impostor may at once obtain a body of disciples large enough to form the nucleus of a sect, provided he be endowed with sufficient impudence. This is true not only of religious empirics, but of all speculators on human credulity. What quack ever failed to sell his

* The most numerous Church in England is that of Manchester, which contains 3166 members; the next is that of Glamorganshire, which contains 2338, mostly at Merthyr. In the Report on religious worship by Mr. Horace Mann, which has lately appeared under the auspices of Mr. Graham, the Registrar-General, as superintendent of the Census, there is an account of the Mormons, p. cvi.—cxii., from which we extract the following passage:—"In England and Wales there were, in 1851, reported by the Census officers, as many as 222 places of worship, belonging to this body: most of them, however, being merely rooms. The number of sittings in these places (making an allowance for 53, the accommodation in which was not returned) was 30,783. The attendance on the Census Sunday (making an estimated addition for 9 chapels, from which no intelligence on this point was received) was: Morning, 7517; Afternoon, 11,481; Evening, 16,628. The preachers, it appears, are far from unsuccessful in their efforts to obtain disciples; the surprising confidence and zeal with which they promulgate their creed, the prominence they give to the exciting topics of the speedy coming of the Saviour, and his personal millennial reign, and the attractiveness to many minds of the idea of an infallible church, relying for its evidences and its guidance upon revelations made perpetually to its rulers, these, with other influences, have combined to give the Mormon movement a position and importance with the working classes, which, perhaps, should draw to it much more than it has yet received of the attention of our public teachers."

pills, if he mixed them with the proper quantum of mendacity? The homœopathist, the spirit-rapper, and the phrenologist, each attracts his clique of believers. All this is only an illustration of the Hudibrastic maxim,—

“ Because the pleasure is as great
In being cheated as to cheat.”

In religion, Joseph Smith has had many predecessors, no less successful than himself. The German Anabaptists, who resembled him both in their pretensions to inspiration, and in their practice of polygamy, held temporary sway over cities larger than Nauvoo. Not many years are passed since Joanna Southcote persuaded thousands to accept her as a New Messiah. Nay, even now, the *Agapemone* of Bridgwater is full of crazy fanatics, who maintain an impostor, more blasphemous than Brigham, in a state as princely as that of the President of Utah. The weakness of credulity in some, the strength of madness in others, ensures to every fraudulent pretender the fulcrum which he needs. The latter cause, indeed, has no doubt contributed the corner-stone to many Mormon churches besides that of Hamburg; the founder of which ingenuously confesses, “the woman whom I baptized first here was in the madhouse for a long time. She was possessed by an evil spirit for fourteen years.”

Thus a heap of materials lies ever ready for the torch of the religious incendiary. But in general the straw and stubble burns out as quickly as it kindles; and even if a few ashes continue to smoulder (as, for instance, there are still a few Southcotians), yet the flame has died away. But Mormonism has already outlived this ephemeral stage of sectarian existence, and, after

twenty years of growth, is now more vigorous than ever. The first and most important cause of its permanent power, is its claim to possess a living prophet and a continuous inspiration. Its votaries tell us that they are not left, like other men, in anxious uncertainty, but are guided in every step by the audible voice and visible hand of God. In every age there are multitudes who would gladly suffer the moral problems of life to be solved for them by an outward authority. And an age remarkable for religious earnestness will be especially exposed to the seductions of those who pretend to reveal to it with definite accuracy the will of Heaven. The most conspicuous example of this in our days has been the conversion of so many truth-seeking men to the Church of Rome. We have all heard their enthusiastic description of their present happiness contrasted with their former distress. Once they were compelled to grope their way in darkness, or only lighted by the dim lamp of duty, and the disputed precepts of Scripture. Now they have emerged into the clear sunshine of heavenly day, and have only to obey, at every turn, the voice which cries so clearly, "*this is the way, walk ye in it.*" But these converts have been chiefly confined to the higher classes. Englishmen in the lower and less educated ranks are seldom allured to the Church of Rome; being repelled from it by a feeling of its anti-national character, and by the appearance of idolatry in its ceremonial. The bold pretensions of a Protestant sect to more than Roman infallibility, satisfy their longing for religious certainty, without shocking their hereditary instincts. The power of such an attraction is proved by the fact that even the Irvingite Church still possesses congregations in many large towns, although its claims to miraculous gifts have become

faint and hesitating, and its members are not proselytising fanatics, but quiet and unobtrusive dreamers. The Mormonites are of a very different temper. Eager and impatient to propagate their sect, peremptory in their demand of obedience, unscrupulous in their assertions, and unhesitatingly promising absolute assurance to their proselytes. By their revelations, their miracles, and their prophecies, faith is changed into sight. So their organ tells us — "Latter Day Saints KNOW that the Lord has spoken in this age. They KNOW that angels do now converse with men. They KNOW that the gifts of the Holy Ghost are manifested in these days by dreams, visions, revelations, tongues, prophecies, miracles, healings. Latter Day Saints have come to a KNOWLEDGE of the truth."— (XIV. 444.)

Secondly, the success of Mormonism is due to its organization, which has enabled it to employ the obedience of its votaries to the best advantage. The submission rendered to a voice which men believe divine, supplies a motive force of unlimited power ; and when this is applied by well-constructed machinery, the results which may be effected are almost incalculable. When the energies of masses are directed by a single mind, wonders will be accomplished, even though (as often happens in military achievements) the service is rendered with sullen indifference or extorted by compulsion. But when the obedience is the obedience of the will, and when the unity of action is blended with a unity of heart and purpose, the results of such a concentration of moral force upon any given point are not more really surprising than the raising of the Menai bridge by the hydrostatic paradox.

Thirdly, we may attribute the welcome which Mormonism has met from our working classes to the pre-

valence of discontent among the poor against the rich. The repinings of labour against capital, which have covered England with strikes and Europe with barricades, are at once sanctioned and consoled by the missionaries of the "Saints." They invite their hearers to fly from oppression to that happy land where the poor are lords of the soil, where no cruel millowners can trample on the "rights of labour," where social inequalities are unknown, and where all the citizens are united by the bonds of a universal brotherhood and a common faith. In the minutes of a recent "General Conference" we read that "Elder Taylor related a conversation which he had held with a French Communist, wherein he proved that the Saints have done all which the French Communists have failed to establish."—(XV. 389.) And certainly they may appeal with just pride to the contrast presented by Nauvoo in its decay with the flourishing city which they abandoned. For M. Cabet's Socialists (its present possessors) have been unable even to preserve from ruin the farms and workshops which Mormon industry had left ready to their hands. To such promises of substantial comfort these skilful propagandists add glowing pictures of the millennial glories which are soon to dawn on "Zion;" gratifying, yet surpassing, the aspirations after a "good time coming," which fill the dreams of their democratic converts.

Another, and perhaps not the least influential, aid to Mormon proselytism, is the adaptation of their materialising theology to the system taught by the extreme section of popular Protestantism. That Judaizing spirit which would supersede the New Testament by the Old; which imposes Mosaic ordinances as Christian laws; which turns even the new dispensation into a string of

verbal shibboleths*; prepares the mind for the corresponding dogmas of Mormonism. But while the Mormon teachers fall in with this popular system, they carry out its carnal views to a more logical development. Thus they have pushed its Judaizing tendencies (as we have seen) into actual Judaism. And even while discarding the morality of the New Testament, they found their hierarchy on the most servile adherence to its letter; and maintain that any departure from its nomenclature in the designations of ecclesiastical officers is indefensible. It is instructive to observe how easily this formalism, which is usually regarded as pre-eminently Protestant, blends with their Romanising attribution of a magic power to outward rites, an inherent sanctity to earthly temples, and an efficacious virtue to offerings for the dead; for, in truth, these several modes of substituting a formal for a spiritual religion, whether patronised by Pope or Presbyter, are only diverse manifestations of the same idolatrous superstition.

Such are the principal causes which explain the rapid growth of this singular sect. But we do not believe them sufficient to secure its permanent stability; for, in the first place, when the necessity for increasing the population of Utah has passed away, the zeal for proselytism which it has bred must burn less warmly. Secondly, that agglomeration of the sect upon a single spot, which, up to a certain point, gives strength and centralization, contains also an element of weakness; for it makes the Church of Mormon local instead of

* We have often regretted that Coleridge should have applied Lessing's term of *Bibliolatry* (a word sure to be misrepresented) to this tendency of popular religionism. *Grammatolatry* would have been a better word for that against which St. Paul protests as *ἡ διακονία τοῦ γράμματος*.

catholic, and tends to restrict the converts to that small number who intend to emigrate. Thirdly, the success of the leaders in rendering the government of Utah theocratic may ultimately prove suicidal. At present the democracy is merged in the theocracy. Even the members of the Legislature, nominally elected by universal suffrage, are really named by the President, and returned without a contest. But this very blending of the two elements of sovereignty tends to confound the one with the other. By a gradual change in the public sentiment, the Church might be swallowed up in the State; the forms might remain while the spirit was extinct; the hierarchy of Apostles and Elders might continue nominally supreme, but might become a body of mere civil functionaries; for it will be remembered that every ecclesiastical appointment is at present submitted twice a year to a popular vote. Thus even the office of President itself might, without any revolutionary change, pass quietly into an elective magistracy. Again, there is a possibility of disruption upon the death of every President. It may not always happen, as after Smith's murder, that the whole Church will support a single candidate. And (as we have already shown) the rules which fix the mode of appointment are contradictory. Lastly, we are told by those who have resided in Utah, that the younger citizens do not inherit the faith of their fathers.* A race is growing up which laughs at the plates and prophecies of Joseph. This is the symptom of a natural reaction; the credulity of one generation followed by the scepticism of the next. Meanwhile, as wealth increases, so will instruction and intelligence; and since no educated man can really be-

* G. 160.

lieve the silly fables of Morinonism, and only a small minority can be bribed to profess a faith which they do not feel, the unbelief of the more enlightened must ultimately descend to the masses. When this happens, the theocracy must be violently broken up ; unless it should be peaceably metamorphosed (as we have supposed above) into a form of civil government.

In such a case, the residuary religion of Mormonism would probably take its place among Christian sects, alongside of Swedenborgianism and Irvingism. It would easily rid itself of its more Antichristian features, by the issue of new revelations, which should supersede those of Rigdon and Brigham. The abandonment of polygamy would do less violence to the system than its introduction ; for it was originally forbidden ; and its subsequent permission might be explained as a temporary privilege, granted to the saints, martyrs, and apostles, who suffered and bled for the faith. The book of "Doctrines and Covenants" is mostly of so ephemeral a character, that it might easily be suffered to drop into oblivion. Thus a belief in the Book of Mormon might be left, as the only distinctive symbol of the sect ; a belief which would not more affect their practice than if they believed in the history of Jack the Giant Killer.

But the decline of Mormonism which we anticipate is only matter of conjecture, — its rise and progress is matter of fact. Nor ought we to neglect the lessons taught by its success. In the first place, we may learn not to expect too much from the extension of popular education. Two-thirds of the Mormon converts are men who have gained all which it is possible for the ordinary routine of primary instruction to bestow upon the mass of the working classes, in the few years during

which they can be left at school. This is no reason for relaxing in our efforts to advance the civilization of the poor. On the contrary, it is a great reason for superadding some machinery which may attract their youth to those fountains of which their childhood can barely taste.* Yet even when the most is done that can be done, we must not expect too high a standard of attainment. The information gained by tired workmen in the hours of relaxation must needs be somewhat loose and smattering, except in the case of the most powerful intellects.

Another lesson forced on us by the success of Mormonism, especially concerns the teachers of religion. Many victims of this miserable imposture might have been saved had our popular preachers taught their hearers to draw the line of separation clearly between the religion of the New Testament and that of the Old. But on this point we have already said enough in the foregoing pages.

Finally, if it be humiliating to confess that this fanatical superstition has made more dupes in England than in all the world besides; yet the instrumentality by which they have been gained also contains matter of encouragement. The same principle of organization which has been so powerful in the cause of error, might

* One of the best means is by establishing *free libraries*, such as have been instituted in Liverpool, Manchester, and elsewhere, under a recent Act. But if they are to do good, these establishments should be careful not to circulate books likely to corrupt the morals of the people. The First Report of the Manchester library gives a list of the books most frequently read; and at the head of all we find "Roderick Random"! We cannot see the necessity of gratuitously supplying the population with a book which (if we may venture to alter a phrase of Johnson's) combines the morals of a pimp with the manners of a scavenger. Lord Campbell, the other day, in sentencing a seller of obscene books to imprisonment, observed with a just indignation, that the crime was greater than that of a poisoner.

do good service to the cause of truth. Amongst the Mormons, as we have seen, one in five participates in the ecclesiastical government. Let us suppose that, in like manner, the religious laity of the Church of England were invested with official functions. Let us suppose that they were made to feel themselves members of a living body; essential parties to its acts; sharers in its responsibilities; doers of the Word, and not hearers only. Surely, if among the millions who worship in our churches, we will not say one in five, but even one in fifty, were thus animated to exertion, their achievements in rescuing their countrymen from the slavery of ignorance and vice might at least redeem the future, if they could not remedy the past. Meanwhile, if the greatest of our national institutions seem to fall short of its high calling, and to do but half its task, we may console ourselves with the recollection that it works in fetters, and that vital circulation may yet be restored to organs frozen by a forced inaction. For it can never be more difficult to loose than to bind; and though it might be impossible to create, it is easy to emancipate.

AGITATION AND LEGISLATION AGAINST INTEMPERANCE.

JULY, 1854.

1. *An Act for the Suppression of Drinking Houses and Tippling Shops.* Passed by the Legislature of the State of Maine. June 2. 1851. Portland, U. S.: 1851.
2. *An Act to prevent the Traffic in Intoxicating Liquors.* Passed by the Legislature of New Brunswick, April 7. 1852. Fredericton: 1852.
3. *Discourse on behalf of a Law prohibiting the Liquor Traffic.* By the Rev. H. BARNES of Philadelphia. London: 1852.
4. *The Physiology of Temperance.* By W. CARPENTER, M.D. London: 1853.
5. *Autobiography of J. B. Gough.* London: 1852.
6. *The Temperance Cyclopædia.* By the Rev. W. REID. Glasgow: 1851.
7. *Scottish Temperance Prize Tracts.* Glasgow: 1853.
8. *Temperance Hymns*, 4th edition. London: 1853.
9. *An Essay on Solomon's Use of Wine.* London: 1853.
10. *Harmony of Teetotalism with the Divine Word.* Leeds: 1853.
11. *American Prize Essay.* By the Rev. H. KITCHEL. London: 1853.
12. *Maine-Law Tracts.* London: 1853.

It is said, that when a youthful member of Parliament scoffed at a certain popular movement as "a mere tea-

party agitation," a veteran statesman silenced him by the retort, that "every great measure for the last thirty years had been carried by tea-party agitation." This dictum was, of course, exaggerated. The Reform Bill, and Catholic Emancipation, are two obvious exceptions. Yet, with all deductions, there remains enough of truth in the assertion to point the moral, which warns us against despising a storm in a tea-cup.

In recognising this characteristic of our times, we are far from thinking that it reflects any discredit on the epoch to which it applies. On the contrary, it is a sure proof of advancing civilisation, when political triumphs can be won by peaceful speeches and philanthropic tracts. Such victories bespeak an age of softened manners and kindly feelings. Nor can a pervading sense of religion and morality be wanting in the community which can thus be moved by appeals addressed to its love of mercy, truth, and righteousness.

It must be owned, however, that there are certain ludicrous features connected with these amiable agitations. Platform oratory is among their necessary elements; and this, of course, involves large and repeated doses of bombastic declamation, illogical argument, and maudlin sentimentality. And if such ingredients flavour other movements which derive their force from the mild inspiration of the tea-table, much more may we expect to find them in that where tea supplies the very sinews of war, and furnishes both the watchword of the camp, and the motto on the banners. It is true, that the absurdity of the advocates does not prove the absurdity of their cause. The grotesque antics of vulgar agitators could not make the crusade against slavery contemptible, nor render free trade permanently ridiculous. Yet, even a statue of Phidias may be disguised by a drapery

of motley. The best of causes may be so travestied by the imbecility of its champions as to wear for a time the colour of their livery. And the follies often perpetrated by the advocates of Temperance have been so pre-eminently extravagant, that we cannot wonder if they have made the name of "Teatotalism" almost synonymous with Monomania in the opinion of the majority of their countrymen.

These follies may be classed under two heads; first, the isolated eccentricities of individuals; and, secondly, the absurdities which occur in publications sanctioned by the whole Society. Follies of the former kind are incidental to every similar movement; it is only the latter class which can justly injure the character of the collective association.

Thus it would not be fair to charge the collective body with the responsibility of indorsing the following argument, which was used upon one of their platforms to prove the pernicious character of alcohol:—

"I offered a glass of spirits to a dog (said the speaker), and he turned tail upon it—to a donkey, he curled up his lips and brayed at it—to a sow, and she grunted at it—to a horse, and he snorted at it—to a cow, and she showed her horns at it. And shall that be good for man, which beasts won't touch? which a cow horns at, a horse snorts at, a sow grunts at, a donkey brays at, and a dog turns tail at? Oh, no."*

This was only the effusion of an individual, which must not be ascribed to the society of which he was a member. And so it would be a mistake to conclude, because a certain zealous champion of the cause signs himself "yours in the bonds of total abstinence," that

* A writer in Blackwood's Magazine for April, 1853, asserts that he heard this at a "Teatotal" meeting.

therefore his brethren have abandoned the signatures of ordinary mortals.

Again, if the announcements of "female temperance meetings" wear somewhat of a farcical appearance, still we have no right to intrude with Clodius into the secret assemblies of the sex; even though we may feel tempted to profane the mysteries, when we catch through door or window such fragments as the following:—

"Temperance Sisters! now we meet
In our hallowed cause to greet
All who feel for drunken men,
All who pledge, and cry *Abstain!*"
(*Temperance Hymns*, 31.)

"Ye Sarahs, now arise;
Ye Miriams, come forth!
With Hannahs, truly wise,
Now prove your genuine worth.
No power like yours, save that above,
To teach sobriety and love."
(*Ibid.*, 38.)

It is true, that no one can be expected to maintain his gravity when he first hears at a Temperance meeting the "teatotal" paraphrases of popular ditties; when, for example, he recognises Moore's well-known melody disguised as follows:—

"Where is the drunkard lowly,
Condemned to chains unholy,
Who, could he burst
His chains at first,
Would pine beneath them slowly?"

What soul, when wine degrades it,
Would wait till time decayed it,
When our plighted vow
Would free it now,
And please the God who made it ?
Then ere in guilt you sink,
Away with maddening drink !”
(*Ibid.*, 75.)

But after all, the champions of abstinence are not the inventors of this fashion of divorcing airs long married to Bacchanalian verse, and wedding them anew to graver strains. In this they have only followed the example set them by Rowland Hill, and other divines of still older date.

Such casual and incidental eccentricities reflect (we repeat) no discredit on the leaders of the Temperance agitation. But they may be justly reproached, in so far as they have sanctioned the systematic use of bad arguments and uncharitable invective, in the authorised publications of their body. It is because we mourn over the national vice of intemperance, and admire the benevolence of those who are striving so earnestly to extirpate it, that we regret they should countenance exaggerations which repel the sober-minded more than they stimulate the fanatical. It is not for the sake of diminishing their zeal, but of inducing them to crown it with discretion, that we proceed to mention instances where that quality has been wanting in their proceedings.

First, then, a reasonable advocate for abstinence from intoxicating liquors will content himself with asserting that the harm done by these agents exceeds any good which they can possibly accomplish ; and, therefore, that the world would be a gainer if their use were abandoned. But very few are content with this rational mode of de-

fending their position. Every species of fermented drink, every liquid containing the slightest admixture of alcohol—be it only a spoonful in a gallon—must be pronounced actual poison, on pain of excommunication. A speaker at a Temperance meeting, who should venture to express a doubt of this fundamental verity, would find as little mercy as Mr. Gorham from a synod of Tractarians, or Dr. Pusey from a convention of the Protestant Alliance. To illustrate this, we abridge from one of the organs of “Teatotalism” the following account of a periodical meeting held last year at Birmingham:—

“The usual festival of the Birmingham Temperance Society was held in the Town Hall, on Easter Monday. 600 persons sat down to tea. Mr. A. Bird, the chairman of the Society, occupied the chair. After tea, the chairman proceeded to address the meeting; and so far forgot his position as to contend that *a glass of ale would do a man no harm*, and that *it was not poison (!)*. He was followed by the two Messrs. Cadbury, who both ably refuted the strange assertions of the chairman. [After reporting the other proceedings of the meeting, the editor subjoins]: We understand that the chairman has since resigned his position, if not his membership, in the Society. Indeed, it appeared to be full time. He is either a very silly person, or was acting a very disgraceful part.” (*Progressionist*, No. 17.)

From this toxicological doctrine, the more strenuous partizans (forgetting that all medicines are poisons) very illogically infer that alcohol can never be useful in medical treatment. Hence the abuse of the medical profession for prescribing it, is a favourite theme in their assemblies. We have ourselves heard a “teatotal” orator relate with approbation the conduct of a female abstainer, who, when her child was ordered port wine,

during a recovery from typhus, had administered raspberry vinegar instead. "If people can't live without alcohol," said the enthusiastic spouter, "why then I say, let 'em die." It is fair, however, to add that this latter folly is discountenanced by the more educated members of the Society.

The motive which leads the zealots to insist so obstinately on this doctrine of poison, is their desire to prevent even the smallest indulgence in fermented liquors. They know from experience that moderation is impossible to the drunkard; and in their anxiety to reclaim him, they would persuade the world that moderation in the use of liquor is, in itself, an impossibility. Thus they assert *moderate drinking* to be an expression as self-contradictory as *moderate lying* or *moderate stealing*. Indeed, the more zealous members of the sect show far greater abhorrence for moderate drinkers than for actual drunkards. The latter are represented as victims, the former as seducers; the drunkard being tempted into guilt by the example of the moderate. This is illustrated by the following comparison:—

"A father amused his children by pretending to swallow a knife, enjoining them not to repeat the operation. When he retired, one of the younger children attempted to imitate him, was injured, and died. Every one blames the father, and justly." (*Scotch Tracts*, 8.)

Moreover, the moderate drinkers are described as so heartlessly selfish that they prefer their own sensual indulgence to the salvation of their brethren. They are introduced dramatically expressing their feelings towards their drunken fellow-creatures, as follows:—

"We pity thee, poor drunkard, and we tremble lest thy soul
Should be sacrificed and perish through the Bacchanalian
bowl;

And we fain would snatch thee from the bane which would
thy spirit slay,
But *e'en for thy soul's sake, we will not fling our drink away.*"
(*Ibid.*, p. 7.)

If the poor *moderate* remonstrates against this hard judgment and pleads that he has been in the habit of taking a glass of ale with his dinner for the last thirty years, and that it would now be a great sacrifice to give it up, he is answered:—

"No one would feel it a great sacrifice to give up strong drink who had not acquired a *love* to the liquor. *Any one* who has got so far, is on the high road to intemperance. Reader, if this be your case, we implore you to cast the Circean cup away. Fling it from you as you would a viper which is aiming at your life, a scorpion preparing to sting your soul." (*Ibid.*, p. 6.)

It is, indeed, high time to follow this advice, if, as we are told in another tract, "the use of intoxicating agents *invariably* tends to engender a *burning thirst for more.*" So that —

"He who indulges in them shall do it at the peril of contracting a passionate and rabid thirst for them, which shall ultimately overmaster the will of its victim, and drag him unresisting to his ruin. *No man* can put himself under the influence of alcoholic stimulation without incurring the risk of this result." (*American Prize Essay*, p. 15.)

So that every man who has once swallowed a glass of wine, must "*invariably*" become either an entire drunkard, or a total abstainer.*

* The "Temperance Advocate" (a paper published in New Brunswick) is rather more moderate: "We admit" (says the editor) "that there are some men *possessing master minds*, who may be able to control appetite." (*T. A.*, Jan. 18, 1854.) This newspaper is described in the heading at the top of its columns as "Devoted to Temperance, Virtue, Literature, and General News;" a delicious anticlimax, which is followed by the Teatotal Arms, consisting of a bottle rampant, menaced by a hammer.

We learn also that the most moderate of drinkers is guilty of daily idolatry. For —

“It may be said of the Christian professor who takes fermented liquor in this enlightened age, as the inspired historian says of Solomon, that *he does not fully follow the Lord* (1 Kings, 11.). For though he does not go after Ashtaroath, Chemosh, and Moloch, yet he daily sacrifices to Bacchus, the drunkard’s god. And the consequence of divine anger will be as serious as it was to Solomon and his descendants, with the people over whom they reigned.” (Jer. ix. 10.) (*Essay on Solomon’s Use of Wine*, p. 15.)

The argument of this last extract can only be paralleled by that of the French drinking song which tells us that : —

“Tous les méchants sont buveurs d’eau;
C’est bien prouvé par le déluge.”

After the above statements it will not surprise us to learn from the same writers that even the salvation of the moderate is imperilled by their tampering with the demon of drink. So the Temperance hymnist exclaims : —

“Help us to show each hidden snare,
To rescue custom’s slave,
To snatch the drunkard from despair,
And *moderate drinkers* save.”

(*Hymn 2.*)

Nay, so nearly desperate is the condition of this lukewarm class, that their guilt is pronounced equal to that of the sellers of intoxicating liquors themselves : —

“We ask you (says one these tracts to its reader) are you a total abstainer from all strong drinks? For, until you are, you

are as culpable in supporting other men in a wicked calling, as though you conducted it yourself." (*Scottish Tracts*, 11.)

The full force of this denunciation will be better understood, when we give a specimen or two of the tremendous anathemas hurled by the Temperance press against the nefarious men who are engaged in this branch of commerce : —

"The dealer [in liquor] is a trader in tears, blood, and crime. His shop is a repository, where all the immoralities and iniquities are kept, and sold on commission from the pit. He knows that if men remain virtuous and thrifty, his craft cannot prosper. But if the *virus* of drink can only be made to work, swift desolation will come of it, and every pang will bring him pelf. Each broken heart will net him so much cash ; so much from each blasted home, — so much a widow, — so much an orphan. There *are* profits, doubtless. Death finds it the most liberal purveyor for his horrid banquet ; Hell from beneath is moved with delight at the fast coming profits of the trade ; and the Dealer also gets gain. Death, Hell, and the Dealer — beyond this partnership none are profited." (*American Prize Essay*, 28.)

"These wretches" (says an orator at Cincinnati), "for such they are, feel proud that they have reduced a fellow creature to the level of the brute, and stifled, perhaps for ever, each elevated sentiment of his nature. From an example so pregnant with horror, the arch-fiend himself would revolt, and hurry howling back to his native hell. If on the morrow he (the speaker) were to fall, and again become a drunken idiot, would not the public-house-keepers be rejoiced, and throw up their hats and shout, until the infernal imps in the nethermost hell would waken up, and wonder why their ancients were creating so terrific an uproar." (*Maine Tracts*, No. 4.)

After this, we cannot wonder at the doom which is denounced in the Temperance hymn-book, against Messrs. Bass, Alsop, and their coadjutors : —

“ Warn the *makers* of strong drink,
And the *sellers*, lest they sink,
With an aggravated doom,
To perdition’s deepest gloom.”

(*Hymn 153.*)

It might naturally be expected that men so far gone in iniquity would not scruple at increasing their gains by adulterating their produce. Yet we should have thought they might have found a cheaper ingredient for their purpose than vitriol, which we learn with dismay that they habitually employ, according to the following statement:—

“ A poor woman, having gone into a spirit shop a short time since to buy a glass of spirits, spilt a little of it on a shoulder of mutton, which was in a basket in her hand. On reaching home, she found a black hole burnt in the meat, where the droppings of the spirit glass had fallen upon it; and thus detected the presence of *vitriol*.” (*Scotch Tracts*, 3.)

The above examples of fanatical declamation may be regarded as simply laughable. But when the advocates of temperance, in their zeal to prove the divine right of abstinence, insist upon demonstrating their principles from Scripture, they too often become profane as well as ridiculous. We will not refer, in this connexion, to the doctrines taught by some among them concerning the marriage-feast of Cana, and the Holy Communion; but will content ourselves, as far as the New Testament is concerned, with the following specimen of their biblical interpretation. Every reader of the Epistles must remember the passage where St. Paul warns the Colossians against adopting those Jewish ordinances which forbade the “touching, tasting, or handling” of certain

kinds of food. A friend of ours once told us, on his return from a Temperance meeting, that he had heard a speaker refer to this passage as prohibiting fermented liquors. "They tell us," said the orator, "that we have no Scripture warrant for total abstinence. They forget St. Paul's command to the Colossians, *Touch not, Taste not, Handle not*. Can anything be plainer or more positive?" We confess we hardly believed this anecdote, but supposed that our friend must have misunderstood the speaker. To our great surprise, however, on looking over a bundle of Temperance tracts and hymns, we found the text in question actually thus applied, not once only, but frequently.*

It must be said, however, in excuse for these perverters of Scripture, that some of their silliest sayings have been provoked by equal folly in their opponents, who drag both the New Testament and the Old into the controversy, and draw from each, but especially from the latter, the most illogical conclusions. Thus some have been weak enough to argue that it must be right for a Christian to drink wine, because such was the practice of Noah, David, and Solomon. To this argument, so far as it refers to the latter monarch, one of the teatotal champions replies as follows:—

"When did Solomon take to wine of the fermented species? When did he give himself to it? When did he make the dangerous experiment of investigating the properties of alcoholic

* See, for example, Scotch Tracts, 9.; and Hymn Book, 152. It is curious that the same passage, perverted in the same strange way, was urged in 1670 by the Presbyterian zealots in Scotland, as conclusive against the acceptance of Leighton's concessions. Burnet says, "Because a passage of Scripture, *according to its general sound*, was apt to work much on them, that of *touch not, taste not, handle not*, was often repeated among them." (Hist. of Own Time, Book 2.)

liquor by a personal use of it? Did he do this in youth, in manhood, or in old age? To this interrogative it may be replied, that it appears that Solomon made the experiment in question in his advanced years, and within the last seven or eight of his reign. I acknowledge that this statement cannot be demonstrated, but there are some circumstances stated in the biographical notice of Solomon in the Old Testament, which sanction the supposition. . . . He was an eminent naturalist, botanist, and horticulturist. He understood the nature and the peculiarities of the fruits of Palestine better than any other man. And it cannot be questioned that he obtained a *must* from that fruit which, when fermented, yielded a more delicate and superior-flavoured alcoholic wine than can be found in the cellars of Buckingham Palace or Windsor Castle. . . . Under these circumstances, under the exciting influence of alcoholic liquors, it is probable, it is highly probable, that Solomon sanctioned the erection of the High Places for Chemosh, - taroth, and Moloch; and licensed the idolatrous worship of his wives; and even out of his own purse contributed to the support of their idolatry. And under the same influence he doubtless committed all the unlawful acts that he was guilty of.”*

As a set-off against Solomon’s inebriety, the same author cites an opposite precedent, no less royal and equally scriptural, in the firm abstinence of King Lemuel.

“*It is not for kings, O Lemuel, it is not for kings to drink wine, nor for princes strong drink.* These were the words of King Lemuel, the prophecy that his mother taught him. (Prov. xxxi. 1-4.) Lemuel was probably the ruler of some country near the land of Judea; who, when on a visit to Solomon, might relate the circumstance of having been brought up a Teatotaler; which interesting fact is recorded in the Book of Proverbs, and shows that many centuries ago there were other kings, as well as Solomon, who had been brought up Teatotalers, among whom

* Essay on Solomon’s Use of Wine, p. 14.

Lemuel was one. Happy Lemuel! more happy in being brought up a Teatotaler than in being born heir to a kingdom.”*

Another writer goes further, and carries the war into the enemy's country, by proving from the book of Genesis (i. 29.) that it is sinful to turn a solid into a liquid.

“The process of manufacturing alcoholic drink by brewing and fermenting, not only manifests discontent with the finished dietetic arrangements of God, but it involves a direct and needless violation of the divine law. . . . Men foolishly inquire why God gives us the barley and the grape? For *meat*, says Scripture, not *drink*; and therefore it is solid. What a strange insanity to suppose the Creator to grow a solid which the creature must convert into fluid before it is usable.”†

This is surely an unfortunate argument in the mouth of a teatotaler, considering that coffee is the favourite beverage of the most orthodox abstainers. We can only hope that the writer himself has the consistency to abstain from this *fluidisation* of a natural solid; and that he either grinds the berries of Mocha between his teeth, or (which would be more strictly logical) swallows them as pills.

Such follies as these (of which we might give many more examples if it were necessary or desirable) are so generally diffused through the writings and speeches of the abstainers, that the Temperance Movement is identified with them by the world at large. And probably nine people out of ten believe every “teatotaler” to be a fool. Yet this contemptuous conclusion is falsified by facts. Both in England and in America some of the leaders are men of great ability; and what is more, are sober-

* Essay on Solomon's Use of Wine, p. 30.

† Harmony of Teatotalism with the Divine Word, p. 19.

mind ed reasoners, who can state their views with moderation, and defend them without either eccentricity or extravagance. It is only to be lamented, that they want the moral courage to rebuke openly the indiscretion of their followers. In America the political results which they have accomplished, in shrewd and calculating New England, may be accepted as sufficient evidence of their common sense. And on that side of the Atlantic, their views are advocated by such writers as Mrs. Stowe (the authoress of *Uncle Tom*) and Mr. Barnes the commentator, whose works, though less celebrated than hers, have also obtained a European reputation. In England their cause is defended with considerable power of reasoning by Dr. Carpenter, whose professional eminence is proved by his appointment as medical examiner in the University of London, and whose scientific writings are text books in every medical school in England.

Nor are even the public meetings of Teatotalism scenes of unmitigated folly. From water-drinkers on provincial platforms we have heard speeches full of good sense and manly English feeling. We have heard working men set forth the benefits of Temperance with rude but genuine eloquence; and have marked the effect produced upon their audience by the strong and living argument of their personal experience. "See what it has done for me" was their most effectual eulogy of the system. We have convinced ourselves by a private inquiry that these speeches were not empty claptrap; but that the speakers had borne a good character for many years, and thriven by steady industry, and by a wise investment of those gains which their fellow workmen lavished in sensual indulgence. This was ascertained from the testimony of their neighbours; the evidence of one's eyes and ears.

gave proof enough that their water diet had not hindered the fullest development of lungs and muscle. It was impossible not to feel that the existence of a few such sturdy and prosperous converts fully accounted for the rapid spread of *Teatotalism* among the labouring classes.

The opinions which are popularly designated by this strange term* may be summed up in two propositions; the first being that the world in general would be benefited by disuse of fermented liquors; and the second asserting that it is the duty of every individual to abstain from these stimulants. We shall endeavour to give an impartial view of the arguments for each of these propositions. The former is maintained as the necessary result of evidence which demonstrates that intoxicating drinks injure the health, exhaust the resources, and cause the crimes of the people. Let us then, in the first place, examine the sanitary portion of the question.

As to the deleterious effects of intoxication all medical authorities are agreed. And probably there are few who would deny the assertion of Sir A. Cooper, that "*spirits and poisons* are synonymous terms:" indeed, as the distilled spirits commonly drunk contain more than 50 per cent. of pure alcohol, and as a pint of alcohol is sufficient to kill a man on the spot, it seems

* The name *Teatotalism* is said to have originated in the stammering of a speaker at a Temperance meeting, who declared that, "nothing would satisfy him but Tea-total abstinence." The audience eagerly caught up the pun, and the name was adopted by the champions of the cause. We observe that they have now taken to spell it *Tee*-total, instead of *Tea*-total; but they had far better give up the name altogether. The pun, no doubt, is poor enough; but the new spelling makes the adoption of the term seem like absolute imbecility. Nor is it any defence of it, that the reduplication of the first "T" in the word *total* is a vulgarism adopted in some parts of England to increase the emphasis of the adjective.

no misnomer to call such compounds poisonous. And though other intoxicating beverages contain a much smaller proportion of alcohol (wine containing about 20 per cent., ale and cider about 7 per cent.), yet, when they are taken in sufficient quantities to produce actual intoxication, the alcoholic ingredient has obviously exercised a noxious influence on the system. Hence we should *à priori* expect that habitual drunkenness would shorten life; and this expectation is borne out by experience. Thus, in the report of the chaplain to the Preston House of Correction for 1847, a statement of Mr. Hayes the coroner is given to the effect that; "excluding inquests on children and colliery accidents, nine tenths of the inquests he has held during the last twenty years have been on persons whose deaths are attributable to drinking." So, out of 1,500 inquests annually held in the western division of Middlesex, 900 are attributed by the coroner to hard drinking.

Where it fails to kill, this vice causes the most frightful diseases, especially in the nervous system, on which alcohol exerts a peculiar action. One of the most common of these, and perhaps the most terrible, is *delirium tremens*, the effects of which are described as follows by one of its victims:—

"For three days I endured more agony than pen could describe, even were it guided by the hand of a Dante. Who can tell the horrors of that horrible malady, aggravated as it is by the almost ever-abiding consciousness that it is self-sought? Hideous faces appeared on the walls, and on the ceiling, and on the floors; foul things crept along the bed-clothes, and glaring eyes peered into mine. I was at one time surrounded by millions of monstrous spiders, who crawled slowly—slowly, over every limb; whilst beaded drops of perspiration would start to my brow, and my limbs would shiver until the bed rattled

again. Strange lights would dance before my eyes, and then suddenly the very blackness of darkness would appal me by its dense gloom. All at once, whilst gazing at a frightful creation of my distempered mind, I seemed struck with sudden blindness. I knew a candle was burning in the room—but I could not see it. All was so pitchy dark. I lost the sense of feeling too, for I endeavoured to grasp my arm in one hand, but consciousness was gone. I put my hand to my side, my head, but felt nothing, and still I knew my limbs and frame *were* there. And then the scene would change. I was falling—falling swiftly as an arrow far down into some terrible abyss; and so like reality was it, that as I fell I could see the rocky sides of the horrible shaft, where mocking, gibing, fiend-like forms were perched; and I could feel the air rushing past me, making my hair stream out by the force of the unwholesome blast. Then the paroxysm sometimes ceased for a few moments, and I would sink back on my pallet drenched with perspiration, utterly exhausted, and feelingly a dreadful certainty of the renewal of my torments.” (*Gough's Biography*, p. 19.)

We find from the Registrar-general's reports, that no less than 500 persons die annually of *delirium tremens* in England, and of course a far larger number are attacked by the disease. Besides this, a very great proportion of insanity is caused by drunkenness. This proportion is stated by Dr. Carpenter as being about 27 per cent. in the Edinburgh Lunatic Asylum, 25 per cent. in that of Glasgow, 17 per cent. in that of Aberdeen, 50 per cent. in that of Dublin, and 32 per cent. in nine private asylums which he mentions.* On the whole, probably one third of the insanity in the country may be set down to intemperance. Idiocy also is often due to the same agency: the children of drunkards being very frequently idiotic. Thus in a report lately made to the legislature of Massachusetts, it is stated that

* Carpenter, p. 53.

out of 300 idiots, 145 were the children of habitual drunkards.

It is needless, however, to dwell long on the proofs that intoxication injures health; a truth which is almost universally acknowledged. The controversy between the advocates of total abstinence and their opponents is on a different question; namely, whether the habitual use of alcoholic stimulants is noxious or beneficial to those who indulge moderately therein; who drink, but are not drunken. For the indictment, it is argued that an agent such as alcohol, which contains the elements of no bodily tissue or fluid, cannot benefit the healthy body. And further, that it cannot be simply harmless, because it exercises a marked chemical effect upon the components of the body. It must therefore be noxious, when the system is in its normal state; and if at any time beneficial, can be so only as a remedy for some abnormal condition. It is acknowledged that alcohol acts as a powerful stimulus upon the muscular and nervous systems, and that it thus revives the flagging powers, and enables a man, when exhausted by fatigue, to renew his exertions and do double work. But it is contended that this temporary advantage is more than neutralised by the subsequent reaction of languor and depression which must inevitably follow. It is admitted, however, that there are special emergencies when it is worth while, for the sake of accomplishing a pressing object, to encounter this necessary result. But the habitual use of such a stimulus must (it is alleged) be ultimately injurious, unless it be needed as a corrective for some permanent disorder. "What good," says Dr. Carpenter, "can arise from habitually exciting an organ that is already in a state of healthful activity? It would be as rational for a man who already sleeps soundly

through the whole night to take an habitual narcotic." The effect of such treatment on the digestive organs is to increase the appetite artificially, and thereby to cause the consumption of more food than the system requires. As to the result upon the nervous system, the same writer tells us that "an habitual course of over-exertion may be maintained for a longer time with the assistance of alcoholic stimulants than without them; and thus the delusion is kept up that the strength is not really over-tasked; when the fact is, the prolongation of the term of over-exertion by the repeated application of the stimulus is really expending more and more of the powers of the nervous system and preparing for a more complete prostration hereafter." The effect of alcohol in accelerating the circulation is also likely (it is argued) to produce evil effects, by occasioning a tendency to local congestion, and increasing any natural irregularity of the circulation. Moreover, since the presence of alcohol in the blood obstructs the removal of the fatty matter, it is probable that the "fatty degeneration" of the tissues, which causes some of the worst diseases of advanced life, is promoted by the habitual use of alcoholic liquors.

These arguments are answered by high medical authorities on the other side of the question as follows. First, they admit that fermented drinks do no good in the long run, because if by stimulation they supply any extra vigour, it is only borrowed from the future. Secondly, they allow that if the habitual use of beverages in a moderate quantity did cause an habitually recurring stimulus, it might possibly tend eventually to produce morbid action, and to develop disease. But thirdly, they deny that the daily consumption of two or three glasses of wine or ale is felt by a healthy man as

any stimulus at all. No perceptible excitation is thereby produced, and no reaction follows. Hence they conclude that fermented liquors, taken constantly in small quantities, are perfectly harmless to a sound constitution. And they add that, though no benefit results from them where the system is in its normal condition, yet that where there is a weakness in the digestive organs, these beverages exert a beneficial action, by increasing the power of the stomach to appropriate the aliment needed by the body. This latter use of alcoholic stimulants is fully admitted by Dr. Carpenter, and by all other rational advocates of total abstinence, although denied by the fanatical partisans whom we have formerly quoted. Dr. Carpenter also acknowledges the medical utility of alcohol in cases of temporary shock, in the stage of convalescence from fevers, and in some other cases.

Thus it would seem, upon the whole, that the difference between physicians as to the sanitary view of the question is less than is usually supposed. All appear to agree that, on the one hand, alcoholic liquors are not needed by the healthy system*, and that, on the other, they are useful remedies in certain morbid conditions. But the teatotal doctors assert that entire abstinence from alcohol (except when medicinally employed) will make men healthier than the moderate use of it; while their opponents contend that the health of the moderate and the abstinent will, *cæteris paribus*, be equal.

It is not easy to bring this dispute to the test of prac-

* 2000 medical men (among whom are Sir B. Brodie, Sir J. Clarke, and others of great eminence) have signed a certificate which has been published, declaring their opinion that "total abstinence from intoxicating beverages would greatly conduce to the health, the prosperity, the morality, and the happiness of the human race."

tical experience; for there are, as yet, no separate teatotal life insurances, nor does the Registrar-general distinguish the deaths of abstainers from those of other men. We have only seen one document which furnishes any statistical evidence bearing upon the question. This is a Government Return of the sickness and mortality of the European troops in the Madras Army for the year 1849. In this return the soldiers are classed under the three heads of *Total Abstainers*, *Temperate*, and *Intemperate*. Dr. Carpenter gives the tabular statements, which are striking. The result is, that the annual deaths of the Teatotalers were in the proportion of 11 in 1000; of the Temperate, 23 in 1000; and of the Intemperate, 44 in 1000. In other words, the deaths of the *Intemperate* were four times as numerous, and the deaths of the *Temperate* were twice as numerous, as the deaths of the *Abstainers*. The teatotalers of course exult in this confirmation of their views. But it is obvious that we cannot implicitly rely on a general conclusion which rests upon so limited an induction. We must admit, however, that the advantage of this debate remains, on the whole, rather with the assailants of alcohol than with its defenders. For the latter allow that a teatotaler will not be less healthy than a moderate drinker, while the former affirm that he will be far more healthy. Thus they have the same superiority over their opponents which Henri Quatre ascribed to the Catholics over the Huguenots, when the Romanist denied the salvability of the Protestant, while the Protestant admitted the salvability of the Romanist.

But whatever doubt may be entertained concerning the effect of strong drink on the physical health of the population, its noxious influence on their moral health admits of no dispute. This will be at once allowed by

every one who has the slightest knowledge of the labouring classes. Yet we confess that we were not prepared to find so overwhelming a proportion of crime directly caused by intemperance; and we think the Temperance Society has done good service by the evidence which it has published on this branch of the subject. The testimonies of the Judges are strikingly unanimous and conclusive.* Thus Judge Coleridge says—"There is scarcely a crime comes before me that is not, directly or indirectly, caused by strong drink." Judge Patteson observes to a grand jury—"If it were not for this drinking, you and I would have nothing to do." Judge Alderson says—"Drunkenness is the most fertile cause of crime; if it were removed, this large calendar would become a very small one." Judge Wightman says—"I find in this, as in every calendar, one unfailing cause of four-fifths of the crimes is the sin of drunkenness." Judge Erskine goes further, declaring (at Salisbury, in 1844) that "ninety-nine cases out of every hundred" are from the same cause. A more recent testimony to the same effect has been invested with a mournful solemnity. It was given literally with the expiring breath of Judge Talfourd. In the charge with which he opened the last Stafford Assizes, after lamenting the unusual heaviness of the calendar, and the atrocity of the offences therein contained, he went on to say that these crimes might in most cases be traced to the vice of intemperance. He lamented the degraded state which this implied in the working classes, and spoke strongly of the duty incumbent on the higher ranks to endeavour by kindness and sympathy to wean their poorer neighbours from such sordid sensuality. He was still dwell-

* See a paper entitled *Intemperance the Cause of Crime*, in the proceedings of the Temperance Convention. London, 1846.

ing with great energy on this subject, when he was silenced by the stroke of death. Would that his dying words might find an echo in the hearts of his countrymen.

To these statements respecting England, may be added evidence from Scotland, which shows that its case is similar or worse. One of the Judges at the Circuit Court of Glasgow stated that out of eighty criminals sentenced to punishment, almost every one had committed his crime through the influence of intoxicating liquors. So the chaplain's report of the Glasgow prison for 1845 affirms that "to the habit of drunkenness may be traced the offences of at least three-fourths of those that come to prison." The Governors of a large number of prisons both in England, Scotland, and Ireland, give similar evidence. Again, every one must have remarked that the numerous cases of women-beating which have come before the police-courts under a recent Act, are occasioned by the brutalising effect of the same agency. These conclusions are corroborated by the concurrent opinion of all the witnesses examined by the late Admiralty Committee, which was appointed to consider the propriety of diminishing the issue of spirits to the Navy. These witnesses were naval officers of various grades, not likely to be prejudiced in favour of Teatotalism.* But they all agreed in the opinion, that a state either of actual intoxication, or of irritability arising out of half drunkenness, causes from three fourths to nine tenths of the punishments incurred on board ships of war. The Committee in consequence recommended that the allowance of spirits should be re-

* 50 witnesses were examined, of whom 45 held various grades in the Royal Navy.

duced one half; and Dr. Carpenter states, on the authority of the admiral commanding the Mediterranean fleet, that since this recommendation was adopted, the number of punishments has been diminished to the extent of seventy per cent.*

Such facts as these leave no doubt that intoxicating liquors are among the most powerful incentives to crime. It may, indeed, be urged, that it is the abuse, not the use, of these stimulants which leads to such results. The crimes are committed not by temperate, but by intemperate drinkers. But it must be remembered, that amongst the labouring classes temperate indulgence is the exception. The man who spends his evening in the ale-house seldom returns from it in a state of absolute sobriety. The poor have not often sufficient self-command to take the middle path between abstinence and excess.

But there is another effect of liquor more universal, and therefore more extensively injurious in debasing the people, than even its agency in producing actual crime. The prevalent habits of drinking cause the masses to squander on a momentary sensual gratification those funds which, if wisely employed, might double their household comforts and innocent amusements, and raise them almost indefinitely in the scale of intelligence and civilisation. Mr. Porter (of the Board of Trade), in a very important paper read before the British Association for the Promotion of Science, calculates the expenditure of the working classes on spirits and malt liquor at fifty millions per annum. He shows that the average quantity of distilled spirits annually consumed by an adult male is, in England, above 2 gallons; in Ireland,

* Carpenter, p. 37.

3½ gallons; and in Scotland, no less than 11 gallons. Besides this enormous sum spent in drink, nearly eight millions are wasted on tobacco. So that the self-imposed taxation of the people, for articles either useless or harmful, exceeds the whole amount of taxes paid to the Government, and is double the interest of the national debt. There is one feature of this expenditure which peculiarly shows its brutalising tendency. It is almost entirely spent by the men on their own selfish appetites. Their wives and children have no part in the enjoyment. On the contrary, they are too often left to starve at home, and their only share of these convivial pleasures is a sound beating from their drunken lord, when he returns from the ale-house. The amount which a labouring man thus lavishes on selfish indulgence, is calculated by Mr. Porter at from one-third to one-half of his earnings. No other class in the community spends anything like this proportion of income on gratifications which the family cannot share with its head. When we realise the moral change that would follow, if the gains of labour were diverted from the pockets of the publican to those of the grocer and the butcher, the tailor and the shoemaker, the schoolmaster and the bookseller, we cannot help wishing that every working man would become a water-drinker.

But this aspiration is met by a formidable objection. The labouring man, it is said, requires the support of stimulating drink, and cannot sustain severe bodily exertion without it. To this assumption the teatotaler opposes a flat denial. He contradicts both the fact asserted, and the theory on which it rests. Theoretically he shows, by the reasons already given, that no permanent support can be derived from alcohol. And practically he undertakes to prove that, in the long run,

more work can be done without strong drink than with it. On such a point, facts are the best arguments. And of facts the writers before us have collected a formidable array, to show that the most trying kinds of labour are well performed by men who never tasted fermented liquor. We will select a few specimens of this evidence. The first shall be the case of a metal worker at Birmingham, described by Dr. Carpenter as follows:—

“When visiting Messrs. Boulton and Watt’s celebrated factory some years since, I was much struck by the Herculean aspect of a particular workman, who was engaged in forging the steel dies (used in coining) into the massive blocks of iron in which they are imbedded. This, I was informed, was the most laborious occupation in the whole factory, requiring a most powerful arm to wield the heavy hammer whose blows were necessary to ensure the union of the two metals; and involving also constant exposure to a very high temperature. The day was sultry and oppressive; and the additional heat of the forge was, to my own feelings, almost unbearable. But I stood awhile watching this gigantic labourer, the girth of whose chest seemed twice that of any ordinary man, whilst, naked to the waist, and with the perspiration streaming down his head and body, he dealt the rapid and skilful blows of his ponderous hammer upon the heated mass. At the first pause, I asked him (from mere curiosity, for teetotalism was then scarcely talked of) what liquor he drank; and he replied by pointing to a whole row of *ginger-beer* bottles behind him, the contents of one of which he imbibed every ten or fifteen minutes. He stated, upon further questioning, that he found it quite impossible to drink alcoholic liquors whilst at his work; their effect being to diminish his strength to such a degree as to render him unfit for it.”

This instance, though striking, is only the case of a single individual, and would not justify any general con-

clusion. The next is less limited in its application. It is a declaration signed by thirty-four workmen at Leeds, employed as furnace-men at foundries and gas-works, and in other laborious occupations.

“We, the undersigned, having practised the principles of total abstinence from all intoxicating liquors during periods ranging from one to ten years, and having, during that time, been engaged in very laborious occupations, voluntarily testify that we are able to perform our toil with greater ease and satisfaction to ourselves (and we believe more to the satisfaction of our employers also) than when we drank moderately of these liquors; our general health and circumstances have also been considerably improved.” (*Carpenter*, p. 118.)

The next example is a return of the regular labour during a whole year of two sets of brickmakers at Uxbridge, the one set consisting of Teetotalers, the other of moderate drinkers.

“Out of upwards of 23,000,000 of bricks made in 1841, by the largest maker in the neighbourhood, the average per man made by the beer-drinkers in the season was 760,260; whilst the average for the teetotalers was 795,400—which is 35,131 in favour of the latter. The highest number made by a beer-drinker was 880,000; the highest number made by a teetotaler was 890,000—leaving 10,000 in favour of the teetotaler. The lowest number made by a beer-drinker was 659,500; the lowest number made by a teetotaler was 746,000—leaving 87,000 in favour of the teetotaler.” (*Ibid.* p. 122.)

A very circumstantial account of a trial of this kind has been published by Mr. Hunt, an agriculturist in Gloucestershire; who having let eighty acres of grass to mow, harvest, and stack, to seven abstainers, records the following result:—

“The whole of the work, without the least exception, was

performed more to my satisfaction than ever was the case before. During the progress of it, they gave abundant proof that they were equal to as much work as any seven men in the neighbourhood; and also to as much as they themselves had been equal to at any time whilst taking intoxicating drinks. They were not picked men; four of them about the respective ages of 55, 41, 30, 29, having worked for me for several years; the others, aged 41, 30, and 20, having been engaged at various times in the spring, without any intention of retaining them during the summer; and that they were not of more than average strength may be inferred from the fact, that I was told before they began,—‘We know very well how your experiment will end; for there are but two men out of the seven that can do a day’s work; they will be knocked-up before they have mowed two hours.’ At the end of the first day’s mowing it was found, however, that they had done more than any other men in the neighbourhood; and as they thus proceeded without being knocked-up, the tables were turned, and I was told then that they performed so well in consequence of their ‘good living.’ This ‘good living’ was simply the result of the expenditure of the money-value of the cider usually allowed, upon solid food, with tea and cocoa for drink.” (*Ibid.* 120.)

The next example of Teatotal labour is of a less peaceful kind. It is furnished by the experience of our troops, who so eminently distinguished themselves in the almost desperate defence of Jellalabad against the victorious Affghans. They endured the incessant toil and hardship of that terrible winter without any allowance of spirits, or other intoxicating liquor.

“I will not mention this last as a privation,” writes Sir Robert Sale, in his official despatch, “because I verily believe that this circumstance and constant employment have contributed to keep them in the highest health, and the most remarkable state of discipline.” (*Ibid.*)

To Sir Robert Sale's testimony may be added that of a private of his brigade, who writes as follows:—

“From the 12th of November to the 18th of April, our men had no liquor; they worked six hours a-day for a long time, and almost every day, besides three hours digging trenches, building walls, &c.; add to this, being on duty six or seven nights out of eight, with short rations. With all this hardship we were very healthy, and not a non-commissioned officer was reduced during the time, nor was a man tried by court-martial. These facts are so striking, that officers and men acknowledged that we were much better off without the ration of ardent spirits than we could possibly have been with them.” (*Ibid.*)

But at any rate, urges the advocate of alcohol, if not requisite in ordinary labour, spirituous liquors are needed by those whose calling exposes them to the extremes of cold or heat. Even this concession, however, is refused by their opponents. As to the endurance of heat, indeed, few would now maintain the old notion, that brandy-punch is an indispensable specific against the lassitude caused by tropical climates. It is now generally acknowledged that the diseases of Europeans in hot countries are caused, not cured, by such indulgence. And physiological reasons would lead us to suppose that the mischief of such stimulants is increased, in proportion to the elevation of the temperature. The assumption that they are useful in extreme cold is more plausible. The alcoholic stimulus does unquestionably, for the moment, increase the warmth of the body. Yet this temporary accession of heat is followed by a reaction, so that it is ineffectual when continued cold must be endured. The true method prescribed by animal chemistry for enabling the system to support excessive cold, is an oleaginous diet. And this, with hot drinks, such as tea and coffee, is found in practice more efficient

in sustaining bodily warmth than any amount of alcohol. Thus Dr. Carpenter informs us, that

“The Rev. Richard Knill, for many years a Missionary at St. Petersburg, stated in a public meeting, in regard to the delusion which prompted people to use ardent spirits ‘to keep out the cold,’ that the Russians had long since found out the injurious effects of taking them in very cold weather. When a regiment was about to march, orders were issued over-night that no spirits were to be taken on the following morning; and to ascertain as far as possible that the order had been complied with, it was the practice of their corporals carefully to smell the breath of every man when assembled in the morning before marching, and those who were found to have taken spirits were forthwith ordered out of the ranks, and prevented from marching on that day; it having been found that such men were peculiarly subject to be frost-bitten and otherwise injured.—Every soldier in the Russian service, it may be remarked, has an allowance of *oil* as part of his regular rations; experience having shown its value as a constant supporter of heat.”*

In the mercantile navy, also, the rule of abstinence from spirituous drinks is gradually superseding the ancient dispensation of grog. In the American trading vessels this reform is almost universal. The following statement on this subject was made to the Admiralty Committee before-mentioned, by the captain of an American liner.

“For the last twelve years I have sailed on the strict principle of temperance, and have found it work well, and no complaint among the men; they were always ready to do their duty, and do it cheerfully, which I did not always find to be the case when spirits were allowed them. The American merchant-ships nearly all sail upon the temperance principle.

* This statement is not contradicted by the fact that spirits are served out to the Russian troops as a stimulant, when dangerous service is required of them.

Even in our whaling-ships, of which there are nearly 700 vessels, there is not one in twenty in which spirits are allowed.”*

It was the unanimous opinion of the witnesses examined by the above-named committee, that the moral disadvantages of the spirit ration were not compensated by any physical benefit. It should also be observed, that in the case of sailors, abstinence from spirits is equivalent to abstinence from all fermented liquor; for no other alcoholic drink is substituted, when the spirit ration is discontinued. Dr. Carpenter remarks, with justice, that the seaman is, above all other classes of men, exposed to extreme and rapid vicissitudes of temperature, which are more trying to health than the lengthened continuance either of heat or cold. In the course of a single voyage, he is often doomed, like Milton's lost angels,

“To feel by turns the bitter change
Of fierce extremes, extremes by change more fierce.”

If, then, he can work better, and live healthier, without than with intoxicating stimulants, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that these are of no advantage in enabling the body to withstand the effects of climate.

But while the Teatotalers are thus triumphantly refuting the physical objections to their system, they are encountered by a more formidable class of adversaries, who assail them with charges of heresy and irreligion. They are accused of substituting Abstinence for Christianity, and of preaching Temperance in opposition to the

* Dr. Carpenter states that in the Arctic Expeditions lately sent out by the British Government, no alcoholic liquors have been supplied to the crew. This, however, is a mistake. We have ascertained that the ships forming these expeditions have been supplied with rum as usual, so as to allow their crews the authorised quantity of half-a-gill per man daily.

Gospel. They reply that, in some cases, temperance must precede religion; because the man who is never sober, neither will nor can listen to religious teaching. He must cease to be a brute, before he can learn to be a Christian. They assert, moreover, that these charges against them are mere hypocritical pretexts, brought forward by those who seek an excuse for self-indulgence, and oftener prompted by love of rum than of religion. In this retort there may be a certain amount of truth. But it cannot be denied that some Teatotalers have committed grave mistakes (to call them by no harsher name), which have laid them open to these accusations of impiety. One or two of their hymns, for example, are parodies on those used in religious worship, and transfer the adoration from its original object to the idol of "Temperance." * And still more offensive has been the conduct of certain advocates of their cause, who have even objected to receive the wine in the Holy Communion; an example of superstitious formalism which it would be difficult to parallel. It has also been with justice remarked, that too many of the reformed drunkards who speak at Temperance meetings, far from expressing the slightest penitence for their past iniquities, seem to glory in the narrative of their shame. But the more judicious advocates of the system justly aver that they are not responsible for these and such like extravagances. And they point to the unquestionable fact, that their more conspicuous leaders are distinguished by the truest piety; and that it is the earnestness of their religious zeal which has led them to take so prominent

* As an example, it may suffice to mention hymn 149:—

"Rise and shine through every nation,
O thou Temperance star divine."

a part in a movement, which they believe calculated to promote the happiness and virtue of their brethren.

But their most effectual mode of answering all such imputations, is to point to specific instances where their efforts have reclaimed the outcasts of society, and turned the hearts of the disobedient to the wisdom of the just. Particulars of many such cases have been published ; but we have seen none more striking than that detailed in the autobiography of John Gough, who is now the most popular advocate of total abstinence in America. We refer to this the rather because it refutes the statement that all drunkards reclaimed by Teatotalism make their former iniquities a subject of boasting instead of shame. No one can read the narrative of which we speak, without feeling that its writer is far from this fault. It is true that in him it would have been peculiarly inexcusable, since his errors were unusually aggravated by the careful education he had received from religious parents. Mr. Gough, though an American by adoption, is an Englishman by birth. His father was a private soldier, who served in the Peninsular war ; his mother was the village school-mistress at Sandgate on the coast of Kent. She was a pious woman, attached to the Methodist persuasion ; and her position enabled her to give more attention to the early teaching of her child than can generally be done by persons in her circumstances. Her boy's progress in learning repaid her efforts ; but he was weakly in constitution, and unfitted by an accidental injury for agricultural labour. So that when he was twelve years old, his father, seeing the difficulty of providing for him in England, made an agreement with some neighbours who were emigrating to America, by which they undertook to take him with them, teach him a trade, and maintain him till he should

attain the age of twenty-one. He thus describes the parting scene:—

“The evening I was about to depart, a neighbour invited me to take tea at his house, which I did. My mother remarked to me afterwards, ‘I wish you had taken tea with your mother, John;’ and this little circumstance was a source of much pain to me in after years. The parting with my beloved parents was bitter. My poor mother folded me to her bosom, then she would hold me off at arm’s length, and gaze fondly on my face, through her tearful eyes, reading, as only a mother could, the book of futurity for me. She hung up, on the accustomed peg, my old cap and jacket and my school-bag, and there they remained until, years after, she quitted the house. At length the parting words were spoken, and I quitted the home of my childhood, perhaps for ever.

“As I passed through the streets, many a kind hand waved a farewell, and not a few familiar voices sounded out a hearty ‘God bless you.’ One old dame, of whom I had frequently bought sweetmeats at her green grocery, called me into her shop, and loaded me with good wishes, bull’s eyes, cakes, and candies, although, poor affectionate soul, she could ill afford it. I mounted the roof of the London night coach, and was quitting the village, when, on turning round to take a last look at it, I saw a crouching female form, by a low wall, near the bathing-machines. My heart told me at once that it was my mother, who had taken advantage of half an hour’s delay at the inn door, to proceed a little distance, in order to have one more glance at her departing child. I never felt I was loved so much as I did from that time.”

The emigrants sailed from London, and it happened that, after their ship passed Dover, it fell a dead calm, and she was obliged to anchor off Sandgate, our hero’s native place.

“I afforded some amusement to those around me, by the eagerness with which I seized a telescope, and the certainty with which I averred that I saw my old home. During that

day, boat after boat came off to us from the shore, and friends of the family I was with paid them visits; but I was unnoticed — *my* relatives did not come. After long and wearily watching, I at last saw a man standing up in a boat, with a white band round his hat. ‘That’s him! that’s my father!’ I shouted. He soon got on deck, and almost smothered me with his kisses, from which I somewhat shrank, as his beard made very decided impressions on my smooth skin. I heard that my mother and sister (it being Sunday) had gone to a place of worship, at some distance from Sandgate, which I regretted much. When evening came on, our visitors from the shore repaired to their boats, which, when a few yards from the ship, formed in a half circle, and we sang a parting hymn. Boat after boat then vanished in the gloomy distance, and I went to my bed. About midnight, I heard my name called, and going on deck, I there found my beloved mother and sister, who, hearing on their return home that I was in the offing, had paid half-a-guinea (money hardly earned but cheerfully expended) to a boatman, to row them to the ship. They spent an hour (O, how short it seemed!) with me, and then departed with many tears. Having strained my eyes until their boat was no longer discernible, I went back to my bed, to sob away the rest of the morning.

“As we voyaged on, I soon began to feel a difference in my new situation; and often did I bitterly contrast the treatment I received with that to which I had been accustomed at home. I wished myself back again; but the die was cast. Occasionally, on looking over my little stock of worldly goods, I would find little billets or papers, containing texts of Scripture, pinned to the different articles. In my Bible, texts of Scripture were marked for me to commit to memory. Fifty-four days from the time of sailing we arrived off Sandy Hook, and, O how I longed, as we sailed up the Narrows, to be on deck, and survey the scenery of the New World! I was not permitted to do this; for, whilst I could hear the shouts of delighted surprise which burst from the lips of the passengers who crowded the vessel’s sides, I was confined below, occupied in blacking the boots and shoes of the family, that they might be landed in good order.”

The emigrants landed at New York, where, after a few years, Gough set up for himself as a journeyman bookbinder, and was soon earning money enough to invite his parents to join him in the New World. His mother and sister came, and the trio lived happily together for some time, till the home circle was broken up by the mother's death. Up to this time Gough had gone on steadily, and maintained an excellent character. But now a lamentable change came over him. He fell into low theatrical company, whom he pleased by his lively and sociable qualities, and his musical talents. At length he became a singer of comic songs, and an actor of farces, at second-rate theatres. The dissipated companions among whom he was thrown, tempted him to indulge in every kind of excess. Habits of intemperance rapidly gained upon him. He became a confirmed dram-drinker; and at length was never happy unless a bottle of spirits was within reach of his hand. Of course he soon lost employment and friends, and was at length reduced to the extremity of distress.

“At length nothing remained on which I could raise a single cent, and I found, in the lowest depths of poverty, a lower still.

“I have in several parts of this narrative referred to my vocal talents and my ventriloquial acquirements. After every other resource had failed me in my utmost need, I was compelled, as the only means of getting a little rum, to avail myself of these aids. Accordingly, my custom was to repair to the lowest grog-shops, and there I might usually be found, night after night, telling facetious stories, singing comic songs, or turning books upside down and reading them whilst they were moving round, to the great delight and wonder of a set of *loafers* who supplied me with drink in return.”

Finally his wife and child were taken ill, and died after

a short sickness, aggravated by the want of all those comforts which the husband and father ought to have provided.

“Then came the terrible feeling that I was utterly alone in the world. I drank now to dispel my gloom, or drown it in the maddening cup. And soon it was whispered from one to another, till the whole town became aware of it, that my wife and child were lying dead, and that I was drunk. Yet if ever I was cursed with the faculty of thought in all its intensity it was then. During the miserable hours of darkness, I would steal from my lonely bed to the place where my dead wife and child lay, and in agony of soul pass my shaking hand over their cold faces; and then return to my bed, after a draught of rum, which I had hidden under my pillow. Many a time did I wish to die. My frame was enervated, my reputation gone, and all my prospects blighted. After the funerals of my wife and child, I knew not what course to pursue; for wherever I went I failed not to see the finger of scorn pointed at me, and I writhed in agony under a sense of my shame.”

To add to his other miseries, he was now a victim of *delirium tremens*, and we have before cited the vivid description which he gives of his sufferings in that hideous disease. He began to despair, and was several times on the verge of suicide. But in this crisis of his fate, he fell in with some benevolent Teatotalers, who persuaded him to sign their pledge, and encouraged him by kindness and sympathy, at a time when all the world besides gave him nothing but frowns or scoffs. This was the turning point in his destiny. By a violent effort he broke the chains which so long had bound him. By persevering in sobriety, he was gradually restored to the health and reputation which he had forfeited. After a time he gained celebrity by speaking at Temperance meetings; for he possesses real eloquence, although it is

sometimes disfigured by the bombastic taste of his adopted country. Finally he was appointed by the Temperance Society to be a travelling lecturer in their cause; and in that capacity he has recently spent some time in England.

No one can wonder if men circumstanced like Mr. Gough, who have been rescued from the lowest depth of misery and degradation by the pledge of abstinence, should attach an exaggerated importance to the instrumentality by which their deliverance was accomplished. It is natural that, in their enthusiasm, they should think the medicine which healed them the only cure for human ills. Hence we can easily understand the zeal wherewith they maintain the second article of the Teatotal creed; the doctrine that every individual is bound to abstain absolutely from all fermented liquors; or, in other words, that the most moderate drinker is violating a moral duty. To defend this tenet, they cite facts to show that drunkards cannot be reclaimed by anything short of total abstinence; that the only cure for the habit of intemperance is the entire removal of the temptation. They infer that, for the hope of turning drunkards into abstainers, every temperate man is bound to drink no more. The "moderate" might reply by admitting their premise, and denying their conclusion. He might allege that the disease of the drunkard required a remedy not needed by the temperate. He might argue that temperance was more virtuous than abstinence, and that he was setting an example of using pleasure without abusing it. Moreover he might pledge himself to become a total abstainer, if ever he should fall into intoxication; and would still be quite consistent in urging a drunkard to adopt total abstinence without delay. The Teatotalers, however, assert that

such exhortations would gain no converts; and that the only way to induce a drunkard to renounce his liquor is to set him the example of renunciation. This is obviously an *ex parte* statement; yet, considering the horrible and wide-spread misery caused by intoxication, and the blessedness of saving even a single victim from the curse, we cannot deny that there is considerable force in the following appeal.

“There is no case in which the superiority of example over mere precept is more decided and more obvious. ‘I practise total abstinence myself,’ is found to be worth a thousand exhortations; and the lamentable failure of the advocates who cannot employ this inducement, should lead all those whose position calls upon them to exert their influence, to a serious consideration of the claims which their duty to society should set up, in opposition to their individual feelings of taste or comfort. There is surely no case that more imperatively demands the exercise of that Christian self-denial which was practised and enjoined by the Apostle Paul; who felt himself called upon to abstain from every indulgence, however innocent in itself, which could endanger a brother’s soul. For though he regarded flesh and wine as ‘good creatures of God,’ yet he nobly lays down as his own rule — ‘*If meat make my brother to offend, I will eat no meat while the world standeth, lest I make my brother to offend.*’ And this same rule he urges upon the individual members of the churches he addressed. ‘*Take heed,*’ he says to the Corinthians, ‘lest by any means your liberty become a *stumbling-block* to those who are weak.’ In a like spirit he enjoins the Romans ‘*not to put a stumbling-block, or an occasion of falling, in a brother’s way;*’ and he gives to this general precept the following special application: — ‘*It is good neither to eat flesh, nor to drink wine, nor anything whereby thy brother stumbleth, or is offended, or is made weak.*’

“Surely there *never* was a case to which these warnings had a more special or pointed application, than they have to the use of alcoholic beverages, as ordinarily practised in this country;

for these, even if they could be proved to exert no prejudicial influence on such as employ them in 'moderation,' must be admitted to become most fatal stumbling-blocks to myriads, with whom 'moderation' in their use is practically impossible." (*Carpenter*, p. 4.)

But whatever difference of opinion there may be as to the moral obligation of total abstinence, every one must rejoice in the diminution of intemperance which it has effected. Its advocates inform us that there are more than three millions of pledged abstainers in Great Britain and Ireland.* And although the "Temperance Chronicle" states that fifty in every hundred break their pledge, yet if only a million and a half remain steady to their resolution, the mass of crime and pauperism is perceptibly reduced. To prove that this reformation is not imaginary, they cite the diminished consumption of spirituous liquors, as proved by the excise returns. The amount sold is now less (by above a million of gallons) than it was in 1836; whereas if the consumption had kept place with the increase of population, it should be several million gallons more than in 1836.†

* Scotch Prize Tracts, 8. p. 3.

† This diminution in the consumption of spirits has been much exaggerated by the advocates of Temperance. We have ascertained from the Parliamentary Returns that the amount of spirits of all kinds (Imported and Home Made) on which duty was paid in the United Kingdom was 30,164,641 gallons in 1853, and 31,402,417 in 1836. On the other hand, the consumption of malt liquors has rather increased; for the malt made in 1853 was 5,254,968 quarters, and in 1836 was 4,279,468 quarters. We regret also to find (from a Return dated 28th March, 1854) that the consumption of spirits has steadily increased, during the last three years, both in Great Britain and in Ireland. The most striking and sudden diminution was that produced by Father Matthew's preaching in Ireland; where the consumption of spirits fell from twelve millions in 1834, to six millions in 1841. This effect, however, has not been altogether permanent; for in 1853, the consumption had risen to two-thirds of what it was in 1834.

This improvement, however, may in part be ascribed to the increase of education among the poor. Just as the same cause has produced so enormous a change in the habits of the rich, since the days of Squire Western, when three gentlemen out of four went to bed oftener drunk than sober. Yet no doubt there is action and reaction in this matter. If you can make men less brutal, they will cease to get drunk; but, on the other hand, so long as they persist in getting drunk, they will keep themselves brutal.

But while Teatotalers exultingly refer the improvement (unhappily but slight) in the morals of the poor, to the signature of their pledge, the achievement on which they most justly pride themselves, is their suppression of the liquor traffic in America. The laws which they proposed for this purpose, form a new epoch in the history of their cause. For it is only very recently that the Temperance Movement has assumed a political character; and since its leaders have adopted this change of tactics they have met with a success which is truly marvellous. For some years* they confined themselves to exhortations against drink, and persuasion to sobriety, without producing any very sensible effect. At last they resolved on bolder measures; and put forward a definite political object as the end at which they aimed. This was nothing less than the legal prohibition of the sale of intoxicating drinks, including the entire suppression of alehouses and liquor

* The first Temperance Society was founded in America (at Boston) in 1826; but its members were only pledged to abstain from *spirits*; and even spirits were allowed on the American festival of July 4th. Total abstinence originated in England in 1832 (at Preston), but was soon adopted as the rule of the American Societies. In 1838, laws were passed by Massachusetts and some other States, restricting the retail trade in spirits. But the agitation for the entire suppression of liquor shops did not begin till 1841.

shops. It was at first believed that nothing short of a Quixotical delusion could give them the hope of gaining what they sought. But the result has proved their policy no less wise than bold. In little more than ten years, the legislation which they demanded had already been adopted by three American States, and (under a modified form) by a neighbouring British Colony.

The first legislative body which ratified their demands was that of Maine, the northernmost of the New England States. In June, 1851, it passed an Act "for the suppression of drinking houses and tippling shops," of which the following are the chief provisions:—(1.) The manufacturing, selling, and furnishing of intoxicating liquors is prohibited; except for sacramental, medicinal, chemical, and mechanical purposes. (2.) The alcoholic liquors required for the above purpose may only be sold by one agent (who must not be the keeper of a house of entertainment) in each town. This agent is to be appointed (with a fixed salary) by certain municipal authorities, and to hand over the profits of the sale to the municipality. (3.) Fines are imposed for every illegal sale of intoxicating drinks, with imprisonment for the third offence. (4.) Liquors kept for sale may be seized and destroyed. (5.) Premises where such liquors are suspected to be concealed, may be searched. (6.) Drunkards are to be arrested, and kept in custody, till they disclose the place where they obtained the liquor. Thus the only legal way in which an inhabitant of Maine can procure fermented drink, is by importing it wholesale, or by making it at home. The use of home-brewed liquors is not prohibited.

Laws substantially identical with this have been since passed by the States of Vermont, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, and Michigan, and by the Territory of Minne-

sota. And the proposal for similar legislation is now the leading question at issue in the elections for New York and Pennsylvania, and the other States of New England. In March last, the Maine Law was passed by the legislative body of New York, and only thrown out by the veto of the Governor. An Act carrying out the same policy, in a less stringent way, has been also passed by the adjacent English Colony of New Brunswick, and received the assent of the Crown in 1852. It differs from the Maine Law, in still permitting the sale of malt liquors and cyder. A prohibitory law of the same kind was recently rejected by a bare majority in the Canadian legislature.* In addition to those named above, the American States of Illinois and Ohio have forbidden all sale of liquors "to be drunk on the premises;" and Iowa has prohibited the sale by the glass or dram.

The first impression on English politicians, when they hear the doings of these transatlantic lawgivers, must be a kind of incredulous astonishment. The notion of imposing new restrictions upon trade seems so alien to the ideas of our epoch, that we are inclined to treat it as something absolutely Utopian. It will therefore be neither useless nor uninteresting to state the arguments which have persuaded so many republican commonwealths to renounce the glorious right of intoxication; and that, too, in the mother land of mint julep and sherry cobbler.

Unquestionably the first instinct of an Anglo-Saxon, both in New England and in Old, is to resist any extraneous power, whether calling itself King or Kaiser,

* [Note to the 2d edit.] Since this was published, a law forbidding the sale of spirituous liquors has been passed by the Canadian Parliament, by a very large majority.

Pope, or People, which attempts to interfere with his concerns, or to forbid his coming and going, buying and selling as he will. The advocates of these prohibitory laws were therefore assailed at once with the cry, "What has the State to do with our private pleasures? We are free Americans, and no one shall hinder us from dealing and drinking as we please." To meet this clamour, they were forced to revert to the first principles of political philosophy. They were required to prove that the natural liberty of man is necessarily limited by his social condition; and that society imposes such limitations, either to protect itself against evil, or to further the ends for which it exists. As to the particular subject-matter of the present discussion,—the right, namely, of buying and selling,—the State should (they allowed) leave it free and unrestricted, whensoever that is possible; and most States have interfered with it more than was either necessary or desirable. But still there are certain cases where all civilised States must limit it by legislation. The State may thus interfere with commerce, either to raise a revenue or to avert a danger. Examples of the first case are the fetters imposed on trade by customs and excise; of the second, the restrictions on the sale of gunpowder, and the laws which prevent unqualified persons from exercising the business of a medical practitioner. The regulations to which the vintner and tavern-keeper are subjected by the licence system, stand on both these grounds; being enforced partly for purposes of revenue, partly to guard against disorder. And it is especially absurd to protest against the right of the State to interfere with this particular branch of trade, as if such interference were a novelty. For the law, as it stands at present, not only interferes therewith, by duties on the importation of

wines and spirits, by excise regulations, and by various enactments concerning the retail business, but it absolutely prohibits this traffic to all but a selected few among its citizens, specially licensed for the purpose. It is absurd, then, to demand that dram shops, created by the law, should be exempt from legislation.

But farther, there are some trades to which the State applies not restriction merely, but prohibition. Thus the business of coining money is utterly suppressed by the laws of all civilised states ; thus the opening of lotteries is a commercial speculation forbidden by the law of England. If it be asked on what grounds the State is justified in annihilating these branches of industry, it must be answered, as before, that society may put down what is dangerous to itself ; *salus populi suprema lex*. Any trade, employment, or use of property, detrimental to the life, health, or order of the people, is by English law a *public nuisance*. And in suppressing it the State assumes the right of sacrificing private interests to the public good. And this, not only when the detriment is physical or economical, but also when it is moral. Thus, unwholesome graveyards are shut up, and noisome vitriol works pulled down, for their physical noxiousness ; private coining is made illegal for economical reasons ; slave-trading, lotteries, cock-pits, bear-gardens, gambling-houses*, brothels, and obscene print-shops,

* The Attorney-general, on proposing in the House of Commons (March 23. 1854) the new measure for the suppression of private gambling houses (which renders it penal even to *delay* the entrance of the police into a suspected house), gave the following reason for the measure :—“Every day brought to light some fresh instance of young men of hope and promise being led into these establishments, and inveigled into play, by which they were made the dupes of designing persons, their fortunes injured or ruined, and their prospects in life seriously damaged.” If such severe enactments are justifiable, to save the rich and educated from temptation, it is hard to say why the poor and ignorant should not be shielded from similar danger by similar protection.

are prohibited on moral grounds. Now the liquor traffic, and particularly the retail branch of it, is a public nuisance in all three respects; both physically, economically, and morally. By its physical consequences it causes death to thousands; reduces thousands more to madness or idiocy; and afflicts myriads with diseases involving the most wretched forms of bodily and mental torture. Considered in its economical results, it impairs the national resources by destroying a large amount of corn, which is annually distilled into spirits*; and it indirectly causes three-fourths of the taxation required by pauperism, and by criminal prosecutions, and prison expenses; and farther, it diminishes the effective industry of the working classes, thereby lessening the amount of national production. Thirdly, viewed in its moral operation, it is the cause (as we have previously shown) of two thirds of the crime committed; it lowers the intelligence, and hinders the civilisation of the people; and it leads the men to ill-treat and starve their families, and sacrifice domestic comfort to riotous debauchery.

On the above grounds, it is contended that the State ought no longer to content itself with restricting this traffic, but ought to suppress it; for public nuisances should not be regulated, but removed. And it is predicted that, as civilisation advances, this will share the

* Paley expresses (in his *Moral Philosophy*) an opinion that this distillation of corn is criminal; because it is a wanton destruction of that which God designed for the sustentation of human life; on the same ground that it would be wrong for the owner of a wheat-field to set it on fire for his amusement. It is calculated that the grain annually consumed in Great Britain and Ireland for distillation and malting amounts to six million quarters, and would feed five million people. The greater part of the nutriment contained in this quantity is entirely lost.

fate of some other moral nuisances (such as lotteries and bear-gardens), which were formerly tolerated, or even encouraged, but which are now prohibited by law.

In spite of these arguments, the most formidable outcry was raised against the measure demanded by the Teatotalers. It was stigmatised as a sumptuary law, interfering in a man's household concerns; although, in fact, it left men free to drink what they pleased, and only forbade them to sell their drink. It was urged also that persuasion, not legislation, was the proper cure for moral evils; to which the other side rejoined that persuasion had not been relied on for the suppression of the slave trade. It was also alleged that such prohibitory laws were "unconstitutional." This question, however, was settled by the Supreme Court of the United States, which has the power of disallowing laws passed by any of the States which it may judge contrary to the general principles of the constitution. To this court an appeal was made against an Act passed by Massachusetts to prohibit the retail of spirits; when the court decided that such enactments were perfectly constitutional.* But perhaps the objection most formidable to the mind of New Englanders, was the financial argument. What is to become of the revenue, if we cut off its most fruitful branch? It was answered, that the loss caused by the proposed law would be more than repaid by the saving effected through its operations; for that the expenses incurred in maintaining paupers pauperised by intemperance, and criminals created by intoxication, exceeded the revenue derived by the American States from the duties on liquor. So

* See 5 Howard's Reports of Cases in the Supreme Court U. S., pp. 504—633.

that the Government, in maintaining the traffic, was penny wise and pound foolish.

The contest lasted about ten years from its commencement, till the champions of temperance gained their first signal victory in the passing of the Maine Act. We have seen how rapidly that success has been followed by similar triumphs in the adjacent States. The time which has elapsed since the adoption of this policy is not sufficient to enable us to judge of its success. But the evidence of experience seems, so far as it goes, to be in favour of the new legislation, at least in the State of Maine. The violent reaction which was predicted has certainly not yet occurred. On the contrary, the elections which took place after the law had been for a year in operation, resulted in an increased majority for its maintenance. And the legislature again elected in 1853, has confirmed the law by additional provisions. Moreover, its continued popularity appears proved by the fact that the neighbouring States have, one after another, adopted it into their code.

The statements published concerning the moral improvement consequent upon the passing of the measure, must be received with caution, as they proceed from its warm supporters. The mayor of Portland (the capital of Maine) asserts that the number of persons imprisoned has diminished fifty per cent., and that pauperism is already considerably reduced. We learn also that in the winter half-year before the passing of the Act, there were arrested for riotous conduct in the streets of Portland 332 persons; and in the corresponding half-year after the passing of the Act, only 152 persons. We are also told that a new jail and almshouse were about to be built at the same town before the Act, which now, being no longer wanted, have been countermanded.

On the other hand, it is alleged that the new law is so much evaded as to be practically inoperative. This allegation, however, applies principally to New Brunswick. And the Teatotalers urge, with some show of reason that the lukewarm character of the law passed by that colony (which, it will be remembered, forbids the sale only of wine and spirits) offers great facilities to evasion ; for a publican may easily give his customer a tumbler of grog under the name of porter. The Maine Law must, at least, have suppressed all public tippling houses ; although probably, those who are so inclined may obtain a private and surreptitious glass of gin from some illicit store. We imagine that the chief object of the promoters of the measure was to remove temptation from the poor. And if this has been done, it matters little that those who are determined to drink can gratify their propensity in secret.*

The political success of their brethren in America has led the British Teatotalers to imitate their tactics. For declamations on the sinfulness of alcohol, and the immorality of moderation, they have substituted an organised agitation for the suppression of the liquor traffic. "*Guerre aux châteaux, Paix aux chaumières*"—Peace to the home-brewed, and war to the gin-palace—is now their motto. A new bond of union has therefore been established, of a much more comprehensive nature than their ancient creed. Those who join their banner will be no longer required to forswear temperate indulgence, or to take the vow of water-worship. It is obvious that

* We have lately seen a private letter from America, which states that, since the passing of the Maine Act, little china receptacles for spirits are manufactured at Portland in the shape of books, and lettered on the back "Prayer-book" or "Holy Scriptures." The writer adds, however, that he has not himself seen these bottles.

much of the folly which has hitherto cast ridicule on their cause, will be eliminated by this change of policy. Last year a society was established calling itself "the Alliance for the Suppression of Traffic in Intoxicating Liquors" *; and this has been already joined by many who have never signed the pledge of total abstinence. The practical object at present contemplated is to abolish the retail trade in spirits; but the Society makes no secret of its hopes ultimately to incorporate all the prohibitions of the Maine Law into the British statute-book.

Few disinterested persons would deny, in face of the evidence which we have adduced, that the peaceable accomplishment of such a revolution would be a blessing to the country. Yet we must remember that the enormous revenue derived by the State from intoxicating liquors cannot be suddenly abandoned by this country, as it can by the small and unburdened commonwealths of the American Federation. It is most true that money ought not to be weighed for one moment against morality. But nevertheless, the proposal to subtract

* This is hailed by the following characteristic letter from the apostle of Irish Temperance, Father Matthew:—

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"With rapture I hail the formation of the 'United Kingdom Alliance for the Suppression of the Traffic in all Intoxicating Liquors.'

"I laboured for the suppression of Intemperance, until I sacrificed my health and little property in the glorious cause. My labours, with the Divine aid, were attended with partial success. The efforts of individuals, however zealous, were not equal to the mighty task. The United Kingdom Alliance strikes at the very root of the evil. I trust in God, the associated efforts of so many good and benevolent men will effectually crush a monster gorged with human gore.

"My dear Sir, I have the honour to be your devoted Friend,

"THEOBALD MATTHEW.

"To the Hon. Sec. of the United Kingdom Alliance."

fifteen millions* from the budget would, we fear, render our Chancellors of the Exchequer exceedingly slow to perceive the force of moral evidence. More especially as the compensation for this loss of revenue, which the American States expect to find in the diminution of their expenses for pauperism and crime, would not much benefit our public treasury ; since our poor rates, and great part of our criminal expenditure, fall not on the Crown but on local resources. The revenue would, however, no doubt receive a compensation of a different kind, in the increased consumption of custom-paying and excisable articles, which would be purchased by the money saved from the clutches of the publican. Yet the experiment is on too great a scale to be hazarded hastily. The progress must be gradual, in order to be safe. There is, however, it must be confessed, no reason to fear that the new-born agitation should meet with too rapid a success, when we remember the powerful interests by which it is opposed. It is clear that no legislation on the subject could be even attempted, in

* The total revenue derived from intoxicating liquors of all descriptions (according to the annual finance accounts for the year ending January 5. 1854), in the year 1853 was as follows :—

				£	£
Spirits, Foreign and Colonial	-	-	-	2,689,324	
„ Home made	-	-	-	6,864,449	
	Total on Spirits	-	-	-	9,553,773
Malt	-	-	-	5,418,417	
Hops	-	-	-	440,578	
	Total on Malt and Hops	-	-	-	5,858,995
Wine	-	-	-	-	1,924,972
	Total Duty in 1853	-	-	-	£17,337,740

Of this at least fifteen millions would be lost by the passing of a “Maine Law.”

this country, till it was demanded by a great majority of the people. Meanwhile there can be no harm in that full discussion of the question which will be elicited by pressing it on the attention of Parliament. Every one must rejoice that efforts should be made to convince the masses of the penalties which they entail upon themselves by intemperance. Nor can we condemn the attempt to persuade the English constituencies to restrain themselves by law from a brutalising self-indulgence, whereto they are proved by the report of every Election Committee to be so lamentably addicted. If such efforts fail, they leave the people no worse than they found them. If they succeed, they make them wiser and better.

One caution, however, we will add. The working classes are now attracted to the tippling house by finding there (what they seldom find at home) both comfort and amusement; in the shape of well-lighted rooms, newspapers, and social intercourse. Now all these things might be supplied them without ale or gin. We would therefore urge upon the benevolent agitators who seek to suppress the ale-house and the gin-palace, the necessity of providing the poor with public reading rooms and coffee-houses, free libraries and museums, cheap concerts, and exhibitions for the winter season; and open parks, zoological gardens, and cricket grounds for the summer. If in the petitions for restrictive legislation which they are now preparing, they would incorporate proposals for supplying innocent recreation to the people, they would obtain a far more extensive support from those whom they desire to benefit, but who now too often regard all enactments tending to the promotion of public morality, as the tyrannical interference of the rich with the amusements of the poor.

With this proviso, we wish God speed to the champions of Temperance. In these days, there is more reason than ever to welcome every means which may tend to refine and elevate the democracy of England. They who are carelessly indifferent to the welfare of their brethren, and feel no Christian sympathy in their moral progress, should now promote it, if only from selfish motives. The political changes which are looming in the distance, whatever shape they may take, cannot fail to give added power to the poor. As years pass on, the Sovereign People is likely to become more and more absolute in its sovereignty. If Lemuel was right, it would be best for all parties that King Demos should be a water-drinker. And in the prospect of his reign, the rich have assuredly every reason to desire an appeal from Demos drunk to Demos sober.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX, Note A.

On "the Church in the Mountains," p. 42.

WITH reference to what is said in the text on the negligence and carelessness of the ecclesiastical authorities in the eighteenth century, it should be observed, that although they were less excusable than their predecessors (considering the increased wealth and enlightenment of the country), in permitting the ruin of churches and cathedrals, yet that (as far as Wales is concerned) they were only too faithfully following the example set them by the two preceding centuries. As an example, may be mentioned the history of the diocese of Llandaff. At the time of the Reformation, its bishop (from 1545 to 1566) was the infamous Kitchen, who was a Protestant under Edward VI., a Romanist under Mary (when he condemned a Cardiff fisherman to the stake), and again a Protestant under Elizabeth. This miserable renegade alienated almost the whole lands belonging to his bishoprick, and even the episcopal palace itself, the ruins of which have been lately repurchased for the see. Moreover, as the deanery was at that time annexed to the bishoprick, he had also the power, with the help of his prebendaries (who seem to have rivalled him in honesty), of robbing the cathedral of the property designed for its support. Thus we find that, at the end of his episcopate, the estates of the chapter were alienated, the residentiary houses of the chapter and the college of the vicars choral were all either pulled down or sold, and even the capitular library and the cathedral plate had been made away with. The statutes, which strictly enforced residence, were openly violated; and the prebendaries never came near their cathedral except to look after their secular interests. This disgraceful state of things is detailed, with

becoming indignation, in a speech addressed to the assembled chapter, in 1575, by Bishop Blethin, who succeeded Bishop Jones, the immediate successor of Kitchen.* He appears to have been a good and energetic man, who set himself vigorously to work to purify the Augean stable which had fallen to his care. He compiled from the ancient statutes (which had fallen into non-observance and almost into oblivion) a new body of *Consuetudines et Ordinationes*, which he persuaded the chapter (not without threats) to ratify. Whether they ever observed them, it is difficult to say; but if so, it was probably for no long time. Subsequently they again fell into disuse, and were at length so entirely forgotten that, till within the last two years, their very existence was unknown to the existing chapter. The original manuscript was discovered in 1853, in a dilapidated but not illegible state, among the cathedral muniments, containing both these statutes, and also the speech made by Bishop Blethin upon recommending them to the chapter.† This speech, which is a most interesting illustration of the ecclesiastical history of our Elizabethan era, runs as follows:—

ORATIO Reverendi in Christo Patris ac Domini
WILLI BLETHIN permissione Divina LANDAVENSIS EPISCOPI
Prebendarijs suis in Capitulo Ländavensi
Congregatis pronunciata. (Jan. 30. 1575.)

CUM dudum vobiscum (Fratres in Xto Charissimi) paucis agerem, adhortatione prius prælibatâ, huncq, in finem quodammodo excogitatâ, ut Libri nonnulli, tunc non extantes, quibus Monumenta & Statuta hujus antiquissimæ Ecclesiæ dextralis Brittanniæ Prædecessores nostri scripta reliquere, ad nos et successores nostros necnon ad vos ipsos et hoc nostrum Capitulum Spectantes Nobis Exhiberentur. Qui diu latebris delitescentes, pulvribus (proh Dolor) obsiti, et cooperti, nobis et vobis hac-

* Bishop Blethin was appointed by Archbishop Parker's advice, as appears from the recently published "Correspondence of Archbishop Parker," p. 476.

† An ancient copy of this curious and interesting document is in the collection of that eminent antiquary, the Rev. J. M. Traherne. This copy has been printed (but not quite correctly) in the "Archæologia Cambrensis" for July, 1854.

tenus incogniti, in publicum tandem prodire. Quos cum perlegissem ac Vobis omnibus et singulis maxime necessarios esse animadvertissem, ut Vobis omnibus innotescerent efflagitabam. Quod ut expeditius fieret, sic procedendum fore in animum induxi. Cum in libro qui Eccl̃iæ Textus inscribitur, omnes hujus Capli Ordinationes et Statuta ab Episcopis hujus Eccl̃iæ Existentibus Stabilita, Sigillisq; tam ipsorum quam Capli corroborata (ut luculenter omnibus appareat) per omnia Secula exprimerentur, hinc quæ nobis juxta temporis exigentiam sunt perscrutanda consulto selegi: selecta in Articulorum compendium (ut citius ab omnibus intelligantur) redegei. Quibus autem, cum (secundum Juris regulam) novis emergentibus nova remedia sunt perquirenda (illa quæ Predecessores nostri auctoritate fecere, non solum quæ Eccl̃iæ nr̃æ decora, sed quæ maximè utilia), nonnulla Addidi, quæ cum cæteris hoc in loco enucleanda esse decrevi. Eamq; ob rem hodie huc aggressi sumus, quod jamjam expedire non dedignabor, dummodo uti rei ratio postulat, prius de unanimi vestro Consensu paucis vos præsentem non modo oratos sed exoratos velim. Cum hæc nostra Cathedralis Eccl̃ia dudum esset derelicta, Solatioq; Pastoralis destituta, omniscio et omnipotenti DEO per Dominam nostram ELIZABETHAM (subditos suos juste ac pie Gubernantem, quam diutissime Gubernator omnium incolumem Servet) Serenissimam hujus Brittanici Regni Reginam, ut non solum adsim sed Vobis omnino Præsim, etsi nonnulli non infimi generis homines, alij ætatis maturitate, alij Morum Gravitate, alij Doctrinæ Excellentia, alij Rerum Experientia, alij Divitiarum affluentia præponendi essent, me tamen (nec injuriose) placuit Elegisse. Quis enim horum omnium (si secundum insipientiam, ut Sanctus Paulus se fecisse tradidit, Vobis loqui liceat) plus quam Nos ipsi in propaganda X^{ti} Evangelio, in extirpando Romani Antich^{ri} Regno, inter hujus partis Patriæ Christicolas (quibuscum cohabitantibus cohabitavi) bene meritus est? Annorum decennio horsum deorsum cursitando, juxta necessitatem mihi incumbentem ut Evangelizarem, plus cæteris omnibus elaboravi, sudavi & alsii. Quare si quis laboris, sudoris, algorisq; nostri fructus congregasse vellet, Nonne Injuriam nobis quodammodo intulisse existimetis? Sed quid ultra? Ne nos collaudasse ipsi videamur, de tabula manum, "*ne præter casam.*" Si quid autem eo feci, q^d faciendum fuit, non aliud quam inutilem

servum me esse reputo. Nihil enim boni post Prævaricationem primi Prothoplastri Parentis nři Adami, sed omne quod malum est ab ipsa natura insitum nobis superesse constat. Unde adeo corrupti et infelices, filij Iræ et Indignationis facti, ut non sumus Idonei ex Nobis ipsis aliquid Boni excogitare. Si quid autem virtutis, Si quid Consolationis, Si quid Bonitatis, non aliundè quam à Patre Luminis Superius derivatur, qui tanta et ineffabili Pietâte præditus est, ut hos ipsos lapides, in ipsius Abrahami filios converti jubeat: mirabiles autem Elationes maris, sed mirabilior in altis Dñs, qui Mosem Ovium Pastorem, Strenuum Isrælitarum Ducem constituit; Davidem è campis sui patris oves pascentem in Regem inungi jussit: Matthæum publicanum è telonio vocatum in Apostolum et Evangelistam Assignavit: Saulum Persecutorem in Paulum egregium Doctorem Gentium conversum elegit: Latronem in Cruce pendentem sua ipsius sententia cum primis cælicolam post passionem Ejus Decrevit: Quid horum non admirabile? Quid non incomparabile? Quid non singulare? Quid majori dignius admiratione? Pauperes in Duces: Pauperes in Reges: Pauperes in Apostolos: Pauperes in Cælicolas Misericors Deus elegisse, non est Dedignatus. Hos autem sui Gregis Pastores & Præpositos esse voluit. Quibus omnes animas providentia sua divina subditas esse præcepit. Unde quanta illis Verbi ministris ab omnibus obedientia mandato Dei sit præstanda, tantam nobis reverentiam ab omnibus X^{ti} oviculis quibus nos præposuit Deus, debitam esse, quis ignorat? quibus nos præesse, sed solícite prodesse studeamus. Hic labor hoc opus est; cum Spartam nacti sumus hanc, quantum in Nobis est Ornemus. Cum nobis hæc ruinosa Landavensis Ecclesia obtruditur, omnem volvendo lapidem prospicere ac curare non Desinamus. Sed quomodo, cum æs alienum non sit solvendo, huic opitulemur? Quam adeo contemptam hactenus habuistis, ut non tantilli æstimetis. Hæc dum mecum recolo, doniq; nostræ revolve, tot mihi impedimenta occurrere videntur, quæ meum animum nonnunquam divorce trahunt, Ecclesiæ ruina, debitum alienum, Exilitas Reddituum, Vestiumq; Contemptus. O si hanc tempore Dubricij conditam Achiepiscopi (qui Daniele primum Bangoriensem Ep̃um consecravit) Metropolitam Landavensem Ecclesiam virtuosâ Liberalitate Principum sumptuose edificatam, magna Librorum, Vestimentorum, Vasorum Argenti et Auri,

copia ditatam, magnis edificiis perpolitam, multis Præbendariorum Domibus circumdatam magnis, hac Vicariorum Curiâ adornatam, illac Archidiaconi Ædibus decoratam, in memoriam Revocares? Quibus omnibus aut demptis, aut prostratis soloq̃ adequatis, hanc solam Ecclesiam, incomptam, pulverulentam, peneq̃ irreparabilem cerneret, quem non anxietas animi prorsus deprimeret? Hanc igitur qualem et quantam, ne tempore nostro funditus pereat, manu teneamus; quod certius et facilius perfici possit dummodo loca ejusdem ruitura quotidie resartiendo, nervos nobiscum extendatis vestros, donec suum cuiq̃ sero tribuatur. Quod ut citius peragamus, Vicarios Chorales, Annuelarios, & Choristas (modo interim aliquem Residentiarium semper habeamus Concionatorem) pauciores Conducamus: Hæc si non successerit, aliâ quâcunq̃ nobis comprobata aggrediamur viâ. Quâ rerum inopiâ laboratis, non ignoramus. Maneria magna, Dominia multa, firmas nonnullas, quibus non dedistis? Ut non abs re, nomine “Domini sine re” vos appellandi estis. Omnia consumpsistis, Libros suaviloquos, Vestimenta pretiosa, Vasa aurea, Thesaurum incognitum, ad nihilum omnia sunt redacta. Videte, Circumspicite, nihil enim hic reliquum est; ut certo certius dici possit, “Campus ubi Troja fuit.” Quænam huc redeundi consolatio, cum vos ipsi hunc locum adeo contemptum habeatis? Cui non nisi succinetis pallijs, ocreis, ac calcaribus induti, urgente necessitate, adesse velitis. Vos cum Vestram hanc Ecclesiam, ac loca circumjacentia, sic abhorreatis, quis magni referat? Nullam (ut dudum ad nostras pervenit aures) huic Ecclîæ adjunctam Remanendi Domum reliquistis: in Ædibus Deo quondam dicatis (quas amplius ad alios usus humanos transferre vobis non licuisset) — quibus X^{ti} Ministri, ac Dispensatores Dei, semper Cohabitarant; — pascuntur equi, saginantur vestri (proh Dolor!), porci. Si secundum antiquas Ordinationes & Laudabiles hujus Ecclîæ Consuetudines (quibus per Sancta Dei Evangelia obstricti et adjurati estis) hactenus illam gubernassetis, ruinis, debitis, exilitatibus & contemptibus obvenire, quam facillimè potuissemus. Quæ restat (his autem omnibus repugnantibus) una hæc spes est: si omnia ad nostram Ecclesiam pertinentia, contra hujus Caṣli Statuta Alij sint concessa, pristinum Statum reparare et restituere, quid non posse dubitemus? Quandoquidem eam ipsam ob rem, Urbanus (tricesimus hujus Ecclîæ Landavensis Ep̃us) Supplicatione,

Honorio, hujus nomine Secundo, PONTIFICI ROM^o prius oblata, privilegio ab ipso decreto, Generalique Consilio Stabilito, Jurisdictiones usurpatas, Terras ereptas vestrasq, Præbendas ab alijs occupatas cæteraq, omnia ablata, huic Ecclesiæ adunavit & restituit. Omnia hæc Vobis perpendenda et æqua lance pensitanda relinquimus. Quid hesitetis! Quid Stupescitis? præsto est Urbanus, nec deest Honorius, cuius Honorio omni honore preferendus. Aderit enim ecce ELIZABETHA REGIN^a benignissima (Cujus Beneficentiam primos nobis Fructus condonando experti sumus) et Viri illustrissimi Macænates optimi, omni Virtute præditi, Prudentia, Fortitudine, Tempantia et Justitia, qui Ejus Maj^{ti} semper à Consilijs adsunt. Proinde Expergiscamur: Tempus enim est a Somno surgere. Nox processit, appropinquat autem dies Salutis, et hæc illa dies est, quam fecit Dominus; Exultemus & Lætetur in ea. Quapropter Arma lucis induamus tenebrarum opera abjicientes. Erravimus enim omnes, inique egimus. Quam primum igitur convertamur ad Dominum, et ad vos Convertet. Vitæ prioris pœnitentiam agamus, & Confiteamur Domino, qui adeo misericors est, ut dimittat nobis omnia peccata nostra. Cujus deinceps fideles Dispensatores simus, hujus calamitosæ et miseræ Landavensis Ecclesiæ semper memores. Agite, Satagite, remis incumbite vestris; ac quantum humeri sustinere valeant, æquo animo nobiscum præstetis. Quod si perspexero (omnibus Conventiculis Iniquorum nefarijs et Superstitiosis Papistarum Dogmatibus rejectis) vos vestraq, omnia quoad posse nostrum, idq, lubenter, Defendemus. Alioquin Vos omnes, annuente Deo, radicitus extirpabimus. Hæc autem navis fluctuosa (scilicet Ecclesia vestra) nobis cum sit commissa, Cujus me Gubernatorem ultro Elegistis, vela eidem pernecessaria parata accipitote: Ordinationes autem vestras ab antiquo usitatas vobis adduxi, quibus nonnullas æque perutiles annexi, quas cum cæteris in bonam accipiatis partem, Sigilloq, vestro Capitulari nobiscum una Confirmetis, Expectamus. Deinde vela patentia ventis Susurrantibus si dederitis, bono infractoq, animo sitis, in portum navigabitis. Ne vos diutius detineam, ad Articulos procedamus, nam quæ habui prædicenda, dixi. ~

APPENDIX, Note B.

On "Church Parties," p. 80.

As an illustration of the repugnance of some of the Recordite party to the Baptismal Service, the reader is referred to the newspaper reports of a meeting of the Association for Reforming the Liturgy, which was held at Plymouth, in December 1853. The principal speakers were two clergymen of this party—one the rector of a parish in Dorsetshire, the other of a parish in Cumberland. Both these clergymen boldly avowed their conviction that the language of the Baptismal Service was utterly irreconcilable with their own belief. Yet they both remain Incumbents of English benefices, and satisfy their consciences by declaring that they are engaged in a struggle "to eradicate the grievous errors in the baptismal and other services." "If we were stirring only," says one of these gentlemen, "for some peculiar opinion not pertaining to the salvation of the soul, I should not be here to-day; but I confess that the main, the vital truth of the Gospel of Christ is intimately connected with our arduous struggle." As a conclusive reason for altering the prayer book, this consistent clergyman stated that "Dr. Pusey and his friends declared they would stay in the church while the prayer book was unaltered." It is scarcely credible, and yet it is true, that the same speaker, in the same speech, blamed the bishops for not getting an Act of Parliament, which "might entitle them to *eject* those who are really Papists in disguise, *receiving the emoluments of a Protestant Church.*"

APPENDIX, Note^c C.

On "Church Parties," p. 127.

As an additional illustration of our remarks in page 127. concerning the reverence paid to the bishops by the Tractarian Clergy, we add the following Petition to Convocation, which has been extensively circulated for signature :

"To the Right Reverend and Reverend the Members of the Sacred Synod of the Church of England, in the Name of Christ, and by the Queen's authority, assembled.

* * * * *

"Whereas certain lands in Canada were given by the Parliament of this nation (stat. 31 Geo. 3. c. 31, A.D. 1791) for the maintenance of the Ministers of God's Church in that Province, and these lands have now, by Parliament, 9th May, A.D. 1853, been alienated to others at their request, thereby involving itself and all the parties concerned in the curse and penalties due to the crime of Sacrilege;

"Whereas in that lamentable majority there are found certain Bishops, members of your sacred assembly, who defiled themselves, and, Achan-like, took possession of the accursed thing and gave it to others; advocating and voting for its alienation, I have thought it my duty to petition your Sacred Synod that the Canons of the Church made against those Clergy who committed this detestable sin be observed, and that the following Prelates be deposed, viz. : Abp. MUSGRAVE, Bps. MALTBY, THIRLWALL, PEPYS, GILBERT, WILBERFORCE, LEE, HAMPDEN, and HINDS.

"As it may be thought, by some into whose hands this Petition may fall, that by the fact of my petitioning I grant that obedience is due to the said Bishops until your Sacred Synod has publicly deposed them; in anticipation I beg to

assure them that I hold no such error, but rather, as 'Judas by' his 'transgression fell' from his office, and no obedience after his fatal step was due to him, so, from the time our said Prelates *by their transgression fell*, no obedience has been due to them. This was the course pursued by the Fathers and the early Christians when their Bishops fell into heresy or any other deadly sin.

* * * * *

"Excepting cases touching their private interests, it has been proved again and again, that there is scarcely a Bishop who recognises that God, the great Proprietor of the Universe, has any property whatever; at this present moment the Bishop of London is pressing an uncanonical alienation Bill through Parliament, and will be supported, doubtless, by many of his brethren who did *not* vote on the Canadian Reserve question. For the love, then, of Christ, and the souls He has purchased with His own blood, declare to the world that His Church's property cannot be alienated without incurring the penalty due to Sacrilege; that the above-named Bishops are for that offence deposed from their office, and that others must be elected into their sees. That God from His holy place may bless you in your endeavours to depose your Sacrilegious opponents, and, on the other hand, curse their wily stratagems with His withering blast, is the prayer of

"Your humble obedient Servant,

"(*Signed*) R. CUNNINGHAM DIDHAM, M.A.,

"*Perpetual Curate of Swadlingcote.*

"*Prior Park, Ashby-de-la-Zouch,*

"*17th June, 1854.*"

APPENDIX, Note D.

On "*Mormonism*," p. 352.

While these sheets were going through the press, the following extract from the *New York Herald* was received, as an illustration of the above account:—

"THE MORMONITES.—The last advices from the desert give very favourable accounts of the colony which has planted itself on the shores of Lake Utah, in order to found the New Zion. Governor Young has established relations with the Indians, and has bound the Saints to live in good understanding with the savages. The *Deseret News* publishes some letters written by a Saint to her sister in New Hampshire. 'I am happy, very happy,' she writes, 'and I live agreeably to the will of the Lord. My husband has six other wives, whom he loves equally, and whom I esteem as sisters. Our children, united, are twenty-four in number.'"—*New York Herald*.

THE END.

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